# EASTERN WORLD

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Gopuram and Lily Tank at the Menakshi Temple, Madura, India (BOAC photograph)

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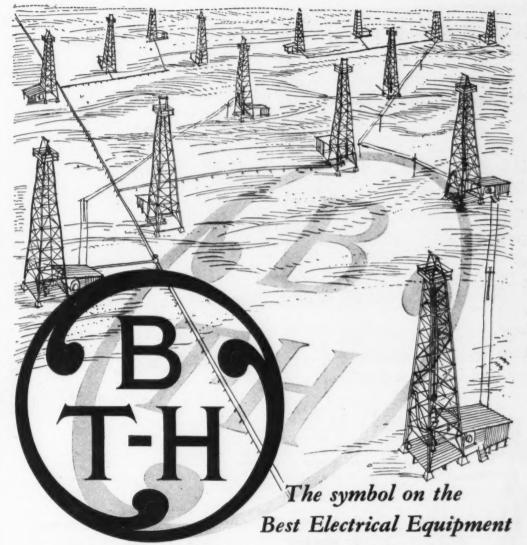
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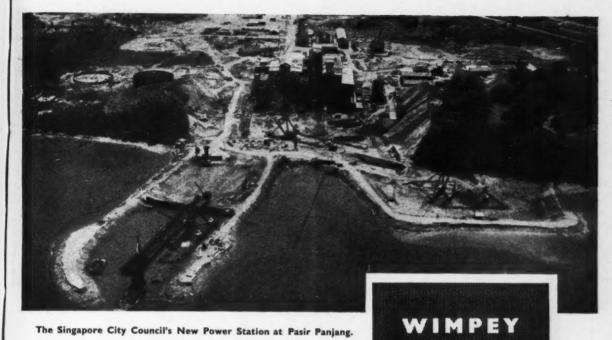
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## EASTERN WORLD

#### CRISIS IN INDO-CHINA

The expected Viet-Minh offensive, launched in the Thai territory with some success, has again drawn attention to a situation which has shown little change for the better, as far as the French are concerned. It is apparent that the French, who have now little to gain but prestige, are finding the war a terrible burden, both in money and man power. And now they face forces who are no longer equipped with primitive, jungle-made weapons, but with modern means of warfare. Although it is claimed that the loss of Nghia-Lo will not materially affect the French and Viet-Namese hold on the Red River Delta, the purpose of the attack is not yet clear. It may be the prelude to a full-scale offensive on the Delta region, and if this is the case, then the outlook for the French and Viet-Namese is not very hopeful.

The French feel that they are bearing an unfairly heavy burden, and now claim that not only should American aid be increased to the utmost, but that the NATO countries should also share the responsibility. In some quarters it is felt that the war in Indo-China is not being taken fully into consideration where French rearmament in Europe and the balance of forces between France and Germany are concerned. M. Naegelen, a Socialist member of the French National Assembly, recently asked his Government to "try to make our allies understand that we are not fighting in Viet-Nam for selfish interests, but are ensuring there the defence of the free world; that we cannot sacrifice the best part of French youth and cannot continue to bear unaided the burden of the war we are waging in that region." There are rumours that all-out help for Indo-China has already been decided upon in Washington, and that, soon after the US elections, representations will be made to various UN member states suggesting a concerted action in Viet-Nam on Korean lines. It is to be hoped that, whether these reports will prove to be true or not, all attempts will be made by third parties to investigate every possibility of a peaceful solution. It is obvious that the Viet-Namese do not wish to remain under French control, however gently wrapped up in the sugared coating of the French Union.

A careful analysis as to the exact strength of the Communist leadership in the national struggle for Viet-Namese freedom should be carried out, preferably by a neutral power like India. Then, and only then would it be possible to assess whether Viet-Nam would in fact be a Communist country after a French withdrawal, or whether it would merely be one with a strong Communist minority.

Every day such political investigation is being delayed brings us nearer to the danger of a full-scale international conflict.

#### TACTICS IN MALAYA

EYLON has signed a trade agreement with China, the first to be concluded between a South-East Asian country and the Peking Government. Thus, while Malaya is barred from supplying rubber to China or the USSR, Ceylon will ship this raw material freely to countries behind the "bamboo curtain." As an independent dominion, Ceylon can do as she wishes. Malaya, on the other hand, is tied to policies determined in London, and is forced to suffer in the interests of Anglo-American cooperation. However, this cooperation seems to have suffered as far as this issue is concerned America is more and more relying on her increasingly improved synthetic rubber production and has, therefore, reduced her rubber purchases in Malaya. The latter, on the other hand, not being permitted to sell her rubber to China or the USSR, has become dependent on the US market and is now faced with a serious fall in the rubber prices. This has already created considerable repercussions and drastic cuts in the wages of rubber workers, and may lead to labour difficulties and even unrest, particularly as it is expected that the Malayan Planting Industries Employers' Association will demand a further (a third) wage cut within the next few weeks.

It is certain that the terrorists will make use of this situation just as they were quick to capitalise the tension between the Malay and Chinese communities. Perhaps as a result of General Templer's military operations, terrorist incidents have dropped from 491 in February to 198 in September. Attacks on rubber estates and tin mines have gone down from 138 to 21, the number of rubber trees slashed has fallen from 70,000 to 9,000, and there have been conspicuously less acts of sabotage against public transport. It is expected that Communist methods may now change, at least for some time, from the purely military field into that of creating political trouble.

The fight against the terrorists should, therefore, be now considered from a political angle, and every step takento aovid or diminish political and social tension. The Chinese community still holds that its wishes are not sufficiently considered by the authorities, while the apparent dependence of Malayan economy on Anglo-American policy is depicted as a form of colonial economy to the detriment of Malayan interests. These are serious breeding grounds for dissatisfaction, and it is quite possible that Communist tactics will concentrate on them rather than on jungle warfare for some time. It would seem reasonable to expect that the authorities should concentrate on a speedy and fair solution of these problems.

## WESTMINSTER AND THE EAST

By Harold Davies M.P.

HILE Parliament has been in recess the war in Korea has increased in intensity. The American casualty list every week is now almost double that of last June, but the American election campaign speeches make no reference to this bitter and pathetic war which destroys almost more in one bombing raid than the whole of one year's aid to Asia. Many of us here at Westminster see that there is no hope of any real change in American approaches until after next January when the new President is inaugurated. A number of M.P.'s are placing Questions on the Order Paper about the increased tempo of the raids, and Members to whom I have spoken are not yet satisfied about the machinery of consultation existing between Britain and the U.N. Commander-in-Chief in Korea.

Since the last issue of EASTERN WORLD, when I wrote about the concern of the Commons over the Pacific Defence arrangements it appears that some Australian statesmen have expressed their doubts about the wisdom of excluding Britain from the talks and the pact. At the Labour Party Conference this year I found many rank and file delegates who felt that both Australia and New Zealand were moving rapidly into the American orbit. One of the delegates from an agricultural area believed that the result would be reflected in higher prices for Australian food products and he added that Australian food would be needed at reasonable prices to make a success of the Colombo project. Lasting peace depends upon access to plentiful and reasonably priced food supplies for the whole of South East Asia.

Desmond Donelly, M.P. (Labour), has just returned from a visit to China. He is an astute observer and told me that he was greatly impressed by the signs of intense economic activity that he saw in Asiatic Russia. Enormous reconstruction schemes are to be seen in every Asiatic city on the air route to China from Moscow. Donelly was surprised too by the fact that no attempt was made to drag him into any conversations on germ warfare or into any special demonstrations in China. He said that China looked upon herself as an equal in the Communist bloc and for us to imagine that any kind of Chinese Titoism will develop is wishful thinking. China regards herself not as a tool of Russia but as a partner. He thought that British statesmanship must look carefully ahead because the day will come when 500 million Chinese will be the most important factor in the Far East. Desmond Donelly feared that we might pursue a path with China similar to that followed after World War I against Russia. We could then easily drive the New China in upon herself, making her suspicious and mistrustful. To do this would be a tragedy in world history. He told me that the majority of the Chinese Cabinet are not Communist but they are all united in opposing any hope of a return to the regime of Chiang Kai-shek. If, then, the Western World persists in trying to establish a new puppet in China, then Europe will be brought down in ruins too. Who then will be left to write the colophon to Europe's one-time great civilisation?

Before Parliament went into recess Mr. Thorneycroft, President of the Board of Trade, gave the House some facts about the import of Japanese and Czechoslovakian cloth. From Japan he told us that we had imported 21 million square yards of cotton grey cloth in the first four months of 1952. At the Manchester Free Trade Hall this summer these imports were severely criticised.

The concern of the textile world with this whole problem was shown at the Buxton Conference this September. Here at this sedate and solemn spa, Sir Raymond Streat and the Cotton Board brought these textile interests together. I looked into this old town nestling in the hills on the verge of my constituency, where the delegates moved about "as brisk as bees, if not altogether as light as fairies" as Dickens said. While this International Cotton Conference may not have had a direct and clear purpose, still this was the first of its kind to be held. Is it wishful thinking to hope that Japan will prevent over-expansion in her cotton industry? The Americans seemed to be against any idea of sharing markets, or of limiting exports by agreement, but they too look askance at unbridled competition. To those of us who looked on from the outside, there seems little hope unles we open up the Chinese and other Asiatic markets on a sane basis. This cannot be done until we lessen the tensions of the Cold War.

At Morecambe thousands of delegates assembled for the Labour Party Conference and more than ever in the past Constituency Parties send in Resolutions dealing with problems of the Far East. This year nearly 30 pages of the Agenda are dominated by resolutions that traverse the domain of Foreign Policy. It is an interesting exercise to compare the modern agenda with that of Conferences years ago. Obviously the Labour Movement is moving into its next great phase of development. In that phase Foreign Affairs and the problems of Asia are bound to loom large.

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## ASIA IN WASHINGTON

By David C. Williams (Washington)

A S the American Presidential campaign has developed, it has become evident that, in spite of the hopes of most thoughtful Americans, issues of foreign policy have become involved. The European press has shown alarm at the call for the "liberation" of Eastern Europe sounded by Eisenhower in his August 25 speech of the American Legion. But Eisenhower also used forceful words about Asia. He said in part:

"Not only in Eastern Europe has Communist barbarism broken forth beyond its own borders. On its Asiatic periphery the Kremlin has made captive China and Tibet, Outer Mongolia and North Indo-China, North Korea and the northern islands of Japan. . . With all solemnity I say that the conscience of America shall suffer self-reproach until those peoples have opportunity to choose their own path."

These statements by Eisenhower are doubly surprising in view of this past record. They are surprising because he has himself been so intimately concerned with the execution of American foreign policy that it would appear impossible for him to dissociate himself from it, They are surprising because a public figure hitherto associated with the "Europe First" policy now seems to lean towards the "Asia First" school of thought so dominant in the Republican Party.

To some extent, these words can be discounted as campaign propaganda. It has been evident for some time that Eisenhower is too little acquainted with American domestic issues to discuss them with full effectiveness. His campaign advisors have therefore felt that he should emphasize foreign policy, and thus draw upon his immense prestige in these fields.

It is also clear, however, that Eisenhower is reflecting the views of John Foster Dulles, a prominent Republican who has carried out important duties in the field of foreign affairs for the present Administration—notably, in negotiating the Japanese Peace Treaty. Since severing his connection with the State Department, Mr. Dulles has attacked its policies with increasing severity. He has declared that Mr. Acheson's policy of the "containment" of Communism is not enough. And he has also, significantly, accused the Administration of neglecting Asia.

If Mr. Dulles counselled Eisenhower to include "the northern islands of Japan" in the roll of territories "made captive" by the Kremlin, it would appear to many observers that political passions have overcome in him his accustomed degree of discretion. It was only last year, in the Japanese peace treaty which he himself negotiated, that the Soviet title to the Kurilo Islands and

the Southern half of Sakhalin was reaffirmed. Before several public conferences, Mr. Dulles defended these cessions against Americans who attacked them, primarily on the ground that Japan was therebly deprived of needed "lebensraum." Mr. Dulles pointed out that, although Japan had held these islands for many years, very few Japanese had emigrated to them.

It is often forgotten that the United States itself has a considerable number of residents of Asiatic origin. Among these the Chinese and the Japanese predominate and there are "Chinatowns" in most of the cities on the Pacific Coast and many cities elsewhere. Until recently, the position has been that persons of Asian origin born in the United States are American citizens, but immigrants from Asia, no matter how long they have been in America, have been barred from citizenship. Thus the Issei, or first generation Japanese, have remained citizens of Japan, while their children, the Nisei, have been U.S. citizens.

At his past session of Congress, the immigration laws were revised so as to open the door to citizenship to Asian immigrants, including the Issei. This accomplishment may be credited very largely to the Japanese-American Citizens League and its able Washington representative, Mike Matsuoka.

Like other immigrants to America, the first generation of Asians have tended to keep to themselves and maintain their own customs. Their children, however, have attended American schools, and for the most part have become thoroughly Americanised.

As with other immigrant communities, the position of Asians in the United States is inevitably affected by American relations with their homelands. The Japanese suffered from great discrimination during World War II; in fact, all Japanese in the Pacific Coast states were evacuated to camps inland, and then dispersed to other parts of the country. In retrospect, most Americans now admit that this was a grievous injustice, and their repentance for this action, as well as the emergence of Japan as a leading ally of the United States, have greatly improved the position of the Japanese-Americans.

It is encouraging to note that, in spite of the present hostility between the United States and the Peking regime, antagonism towards Chinese-Americans has not grown. There has, in fact, been a growing realisation that America will be judged abroad by the manner in which she treats her non-white minorities, and Asians as well as Negroes have benefited from this new American conscience.

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## COMMUNIST STRATEGY IN ASIA

By O. Edmund Clubb

THE ultimate aim of international Communism is, by its own definition, "to replace world capitalist economy by a world system of communism." The Communist geopoliticians have never proposed that this should be done by one revolutionary State acting alone and conquering solely by force of arms. At the Second Congress of the Comintern (July, 1920) Lenin acknowledged the existing weaknesses of Russia as "the defender of the interests of masses numbering a billion and a quarter," but expressed the conviction that

"if our international comrades now help us to organise a united army, no shortcomings will hinder us in the pursuit of our cause. And this cause is the world proletarian revolution, the cause of creating a worldwide Soviet Republic."

Lenin's theses on the colonial and national questions assumed that the great political force then growing up in the East would soon unite into a powerful Eastern International which, together with the Western proletariat, would "strike to the very heart of world capitalism." The role of the peoples of the East in the projected world revolution, that is, was viewed as being a major one.

Economically, the Eastern peoples have long occupied a position more backward, with a larger content of human misery, than that of the major Western nations. Politically, large areas of the Orient had colonial or "semicolonial" status until even the end of World War II. Revolutionaries thus could play on the perennial economic discontents and on burgeoning nationalism alike in Asa. At the First Congress of the Peoples of the East, convened at Baku in August, 1920, the speakers laid major emphasis on the Near East, and particularly on Turkey and Persia, but Zinoviev sketched the basic aim in terms that embraced continents:

"We desire to finish with the power of capital throughout the whole world. But that will become possible only when not only in Europe and America, but throughout the whole world we shall kindle the fire of revolution and behind us there will go all of the workers of humanity inhabiting Asia and Africa."

The theses adopted by the Congress proposed attainment of the revolutionary objective through (1) attacks on imperialist power and (2) work on the agrarian problem. The revolutionaries of the Third International considered that the hour had struck. Their program was designed for a universal social revolution. Their strategy projected a co-

ordinated advance of West and East in a struggle for the world.

The political course followed by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), organized the year after the Baku Congress (1921), reveals much respecting the basic Communist strategy for Asia and confirms the continuing validity of the Baku theses. The CCP made its way to its 1949 victory by the following circuitous route: (1) col laboration with the Kuomintang (KMI) against the warlords, 1924-27; (2) "agrarian revolution" (civil war), 1927-36; (3) "united front" (against Japan) with the National Government, 1937-45; and (4) the "war of liberation" (civil war), 1946-49. In the two periods of coalition with the Nationalists, it was in main the Chinese spirit of nationalism that was emphasized, in the guise of 'anti imperialism" and "resistance to Japan," with a softpedalling of CCP ideas regarding social change. During civil war the CCP, while making every possible use of native nationalistic emotions, in addition vigorously exploited popular discontents regarding the corruption and general ineffectiveness of the National Government, and the miseries naturally inherent in the unbalanced economy of China. The final, 1946-49 "war of liberation" reculted from a tacit joint recognition by the two parties that the die was cast for one or the other to disappear from the political scene, and that the time for the supreme test had arrived. The CCP's post-War jihad in East Asia corresponded to the Soviet advance in Eastern and Central The parallelism must in the circumstances be deemed more than coincidence. After World War II, for the first time, the strategy of international Communism could be manifested in truly global dimensions.

The CCP dominates the (nominally coalition) Central People's Government established at Peking in October, 1949, and through that Government works to clamp iron

O. Edmund Clubb spent some 18 years in China, and 11 years in the USSR, in the US Foreign Service. He was Consul-General at Peking in April, 1950, when the US Foreign Service establishment in China was closed. He has made a special study, through his years in the Far East, of the Chinese revolution—and particularly of Chinese Communism. Mr. Clubb retired from the US Foreign Service in February, 1952, when he held the position of Director of the Office of Chinese Affairs of the US State Department.

controls on the nation by intensification of social, party and government "centralism." This steady concentration of the national strength has some purposes beyond the national frontiers. International Communism lives on and continues to function, regardless of the official demise of the Communist International. Post-War Communist strategy in the international arena patently has again been addressed to long-term goals. The monolithic system of control imposed upon each Communist country is now being extended to a further use, to bind those countries together for global purposes. The Communist world is being politically integrated through development of domestic centralism into "international centralism," with Moscow at the top.

The true satellite position of the Communist-dominated States of Eastern Europe is plain to the view. There are various dissimilarities in China's situation, for China commands greater weight in the scales of international Communism than does any of its Eastern European com-The Sino Soviet relationship expressed in the treaties of February and March, 1950, is thus less onesided than the usual Moscow "alliance." The immediate practical result is nevertheless essentially the same in both cases. The function of the Sino-Soviet tie-up within the structure of international Communism is to advance the cause of revolution ("liberation") against non-Communist political authority (" imperialism and its lackeys") over all of Asia. Communist China, in the character it deems to be that of a younger brother, now operates in a fraternal Axis relationship with Cominform Eastern Europe, with elder brother" USSR exercizing overall guidance. Coordination of Communist East with Communist West is on a functioning basis.

To-day, non-Communist Western Powers hang on to the eastern and southern periphery of the Eurasian "heartland" only by brittle finger nails. And new-born States like India, Burma and Indonesia are viewed askance by the Communists, for whom the standard was voiced on the morrow of the CCP victory by Mao Tse-tung:

"Not only in China but also in the world, without exception, one either leans to the side of imperialism or to the side of socialism (read "international Communism"). Neutrality is a camouflage and a third road does not exist." By this concept, no Asian State will be permitted to cleave to the "third force" theory for longer than it takes the Communists to mobilize and deploy their forces. Communist China has built up powerful armies, and its troops now fight against the UN in Korea. The Korean pattern of events could conceivably recur in Indo-China, where the French on the one side report that they require increased assistance and the Vietmin regime on the other has Peking's official recognition. In Indo-China, and in Thailand and Burma as well, there reside important Chinese minorities. Burma in addition has an alleged Chinese irredenta. China has in the past made claims of suzerainty over Nepal and

Bhutan—and is now back in neighbouring Tibet after an absence of forty years. The Chinese dynasts were never reconciled to the cession of Hong Kong, and Peking periodically voices its determination to recover Formosa for the mainland.

The growth of Communist power in fluid, amorphous Asia therefore gives rise to increased threat of international disputes. Concurrently, militant native Communist parties are striving to build up internal pressures in the several non-Communist Asian countries. Such pressures exist in Indo-China and the Philippines in overt, identifiable forms. In considerable potentiality, they exist as well in the three ultimate goals of Communism in Asia—Iran, India and Japan.

In Asia, the maladjustment of population to food supply becomes, in Communist terminology, "the agrarian problem," and the government in power is subjected to propaganda charging it with incapacity to solve that problem and with a variety of heinous political sins besides. If Western Powers bent on "containment" of Communism appear on the scene, they are attacked for alleged "imperialism" and "colonialism." munist tactics are designed to alienate the politically conscious elements of the population from their government, to aggravate schisms within the country and intensify the indecision of the government, and thus to further the revolutionary cause. The widespread turnover to revolution that occurred in China as a result of popular disillusionment with the National Government is indicative of the potency of the Communists' political drive on "feudalism." Recent events in Iran underscore the efficacy of nationalistic appeals to wroughtup fears of "imperialism." The components of popular discontents are more important than elements of international machination in the revolutionary potential found in Asia to-day. But the Communist strategy would have the international East-West Axis grow in importance pari passu with the advance of national revolutions in Asia.

Confirmation that the strategy and tactics developed in the course of 28 years of civil struggle in China are deemed suited for use in other Asiatic countries has been offered by one of the CCP's foremost political theorists. Liu Shao-ch'i, in his opening speech before the Australasian Trade Union Conference held in Peking in November, 1949, contended that the CCP victory in China's "war of liberation" had greatly strengthened the Communist cause generally, that "the people's fighters for liberation in Indo-China, Burma, India, Malaya and the Philippines are acting entirely correctly," and that it was only through victory in the struggle for liberation and expulsion of imperialism that those several countries could arrive at a fundamental solution of the problem of living levels. The Communist Party, he said, would give the leadership to organize the people for the struggle. "Where and when possible it is

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necessary to establish a People's Liberation Army," with a base of operations, and armed insurrection in the country-side would be co-ordinated with legal and illegal activities in the towns and other areas controlled by the enemy. "These are the basic roads taken by the Chinese people in achieving victory. . . . These roads can also be the pattern for similar roads for peoples of other colonial and semi-colonial countries for winning liberation."

Liu Shao-ch'i's precepts fit into the known pattern. In short, international Communism plans insurrection, for which China's long civil struggle is viewed as an approximate prototype, in those countries of Asia in particular which face economic difficulties due to imbalance of population and food supply. It is therefore to be anticipated that the Communist parties in "non-liberated" Asiatic countries will endeavour to weaken government control by exploitation of the inflammatory themes of "anti-imperialism" and "anti-feudalism," to alienate by direct and indirect action and propaganda the politically conse ous elements in urban centres, and to build guerrilla armies by

recruitment of discontented peasants in the overcrowded countrysides, with the aim of ultimate seizure of power as an integral act of the global blueprint of international Communism. The Communist campaign would be facilitated in any particular case by the inexperience, ineptitude and indecisions of a concerned government, and also by any inflexible refusal of such government to face up to the pressing problems of the times. Revolutions have occurred time and again in the past in just such conditions.

An extended Communist drive to power in the turbulent conditions of Republican China was finally successful. Something similar to this could take place elsewhere in Asia. It is clearly the Communist intent that such a revolutionary development shall be brought about, everywhere in Asia. At such time as that purpose might be realized, international Communism, which so recently utilized the "united front" concept as a defence against "international encirclement," would have achieved a Communist encirclement of that "world capitalism" which Lenin proposed to destroy.

### POLITICAL PARTIES IN PAKISTAN

By a Karachi Correspondent

The Muslim League

THE struggle for self-expression—both political and cultural—resulting in the creation of Pakistan was essentially a mass movement, organised and directed by the Muslim League. This organisation was founded as far back as 1906. In 1926, Quaid-e-Azam Mahomed Ali Jinnah was elected President at the Bombay Session of the Muslim League. The next ten years saw slow but steady consolidation of the League under his leadership, and the Lucknow Session of the Muslim League in the autumn of 1937 found it the most authoritative and representative organisation of the Muslims of India.

Today the Muslim League continues to enjoy the same popular support that it enjoyed before Partition. It aims at the establishment of the Islamic principles of social justice and democracy and the creation of conditions for the uplift of the masses in the light of the objectives resolution. It is by far the most powerful organisation amongst the political parties in Pakistan. The recent elections in the provinces of the Punjab and the North-West Frontier have confirmed the League's dominating position in the country. The Central and Provincial Ministers are drawn from the Muslim League Party. The Muslim League is also the largest party in the States which have acceded to Pakistan.

#### The Jinnah - Awami League

Pakistan committed as she is to the principles of democracy has a number of other political parties with varying degrees of following. The Jinnah-Awami League, which has a few thousand members on its roll, mostly in the Punjab, is of recent origin. It was sponsored jointly in February, 1951, by Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy—formerly member of the Muslim League and one-time Prime Minister of undivided Bengal, and Mian Iftikhar Hussain Khan of Mamdot—formerly President of the Punjab Muslim League.

The Jinnah-Awami League's aim, in the words of Khan Iftikhar Hussain Khan of Mamdot, is to "oppose all acts and measures which curtail the liberty of the people." The party is also "opposed to the foreign policy of the Muslim League." "This party, if returned to power," claims the Khan of Mamdot, "would advise the Government to quit the Commonwealth. In the event of an international conflict, the party would like Pakistan to remain neutral. The party aims at a more dynamic agrarian policy than that of any other party in the country, an early solution of the Kashmir question, and change in the tariff policy of Pakistan." The Awami League joins one party or the other when expediency demands. The Awami League leaders, for example, participated in the Peace Convention held in 1951-52—inspired by the Leftists elements in the country.

In the recent elections to the Punjab Legislative Assembly, the Jinnah-Awami League secured a dozen seats mostly from the Lahore urban constituencies. The returns showed that the Jinnah-Awami League had practically no influence in the rural areas or in the interior of Punjab. In N.W.F.P. elections, the Jinnah-Awami League was able to secure even less than half a dozen seats. Its influence in Baluchistan and Sind is almost negligible, while in East Pakistan the number of its followers does not exceed 1,000.

The Jinnah-Awami League in East Pakistan is known as the "East Pakistan Awami League." Its president is Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhashani.

#### Azad Pakistan

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Another party that owes its origin to the 1951 elections in the Punjab is the Azad Pakistan Party, led by Mian Iftikharuddin, who at one time was president of the Provincial Congress Party in undivided Punjab and a prominent member of the Muslim League after Partition. The Azad Pakistan won two or three seats in the Punjab Legislative Assembly.

In the words of Mian Iftikharuddin: "The Muslim League Party can rightly claim to be the mouthpiece of the privileged class of people in the country, but certainly it has no right to claim to be the representative of the masses." The Azad Pakistan Party would like to see Pakistan completely free of all foreign influences. The party asserts that "the present Muslim League leadership wants to keep Pakistan tied to the apronstrings of British imperialism" and that "the economic and political exploitation which began with the establishment of British rule in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent continues even today in Pakistan."

The Azad Pakistan Party, according to Mian Iftikharuddin, answers the people's need for a progressive programme. "The Anglo-American bloc," he says, "wants to use Pakistan as a base against Soviet Russia. It is high time that the Pakistan Government resisted such attempts. The only effective way to counter such a move is to build up a strong peace movement in Pakistan."

#### Islam League

Then there is the Islam League with a membership of under 4,000, mostly in the Punjab. It was founded by Allama Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi of Khaksar fame. It seeks to revive martial traditions among the Muslims and aims at "defending the Muslims in India." The Islam League would like the whole of the northern India to be annexed to Pakistan since it contains large numbers of Muslims. At present Allama Mashriqi is under detention.

#### Jamiat-ul Ulem-i-Islam

There are a few political parties whose objects are identical, viz. to place religion above politics. The Jamiat-ul Ulem-i-Islam, whose president is Maulana Zafar Ahmad Usmani, with a following of slightly over 1,500, claims that it would inculcate "true Islamic spirit and culture" amongst the people of Pakistan based on the Quran and the Hadith. The Jamiat-ul Ulema-e-Pakistan, which has some influence in East Pakistan, seeks "to protect Islam to frame an Islamic constitution for Pakistan" and to create "fraternal atmosphere" amongst the Muslim countries of the world. Its president is Maulana Abdul Hamid Badayuni.

#### Jamaat-e-Islami

Jamaat-e-Islami, whose leader is Maulana Abul Ala Maudoodi, aims at "establishing in Pakistan a government based on the dictates of the Quran (Hukumat-e-Ilahiya)." It has a following of slightly over 2,000, mostly in the Punjab.

#### The Communist Party

The Communist Party of Pakistan owes its origin to the underground activities of certain Communist workers trained in India in the last two decades. Its secretary, Sajjad Zaheer, came to Pakistan in 1949 and carried out his activities underground until his arrest on April 28, 1951. Sujjad Zaheer, in his forties, is the son of Syed Wazir Hassan, one-time Chief Justice of the Oudh Chief Court, and one of his brothers, Mr. Ali Zaheer, was the Indian Ambassador in Iran. An eminent writer and an enthusiastic scholar, Sajjad Zaheer was one of the brilliant Indian students at Oxford. He joined the Communist Party in India about 20 years ago. He edited the Communist weekly of Bombay Naya Zamana.

In the recent elections in the Punjab, Communist candidates were defeated by the Muslim League. Indeed, the Communists of the Punjab are a coterie of well-to-do intellectuals of Lahore, who seek to influence college and university students.

Since industrial workers are negligible numerically and foodgrains being cheap and plentiful, peasant unrest is absent in Pakistan except in small areas of Sind where peasant unrest is associated with the Kisan (Haris) Party. The Haris, whose membership is believed to run into a good 25,000, aims at redressing peasants' grievances against Zamindars (landlords).

Owing to its contiguity to West Bengal on one side, Assam and Burma on the other, Communist influence is not inconsiderable in East Pakistan.

## A SARAWAK STORY

By Lord Ogmore

THE Secretary of State sat before a portrait of an 18th Century Duke of Leeds and looked at Captain Gammans and myself. My eyes wandered around the huge room to a portrait of George Washington, to a globe, to a map case marked "Upper and Lower Canada" and elsewhere.

"Well, there it is," said Mr. Hall, after a few moments' silence, "The Government would like you to go to Sarawak and ascertain by independent enquiry that the Rajah's proposal for the cession of the territory to His Majesty is broadly acceptable to the Native communities."

Sarawak! I tried to remember all I had heard of Sarawak. Of the general picture I knew something and reading soon filled in the gaps. The country was primarily associated with the name of Sir James Brooke whose support of the Sultan of Brunei led to his installation as Rajah in 1840. He entered on his kingdom with a fine resolution. "I have strong hopes," he wrote, "that the poorer Malays and Dyaks will be rapidly raised from their present state and that a happy population and cultivated country will succeed the present wretched affairs."

In the early 1850's he had tried to persuade the British Government to take over his kingdom but without success. Now, the present Rajah was discussing the cession of the country to the King, but the Rajah's brother and his nephew were not satisfied with the proposal and controversy had resulted, hence the request that Captain Gammans and I should go to Sarawak and see things for ourselves.

The question that immediately arose in the minds of my colleague and myself was how were we to do so? Naturally, we wanted to visit the main centres of population, but there were no railways, no roads, except in and around the few small towns, and no water transport other than a few launches and canoes. The country was about to be handed back by the military to the civil government of the Rajah. It was 47,000 square miles in area, with a population of half a million. Of this population the Malays formed a quarter, were concentrated in the main on the seaboard and were rice farmers and fishermen; the Chinese were in roughly the same proportion and they too lived as a rule on the seaboard or in the few towns and were occupied mainly as traders; the other half of the population consisted of Sea Dyaks (Iban), Land Dyaks, Melanus, Kenyahs, Kyans, Kedayans, Punans, Tutongs, Bisayahs, Belaits and others. Of these the Iban were the most numerous numbering some 190,000, namely one-third of the total population and were the most virile. In the late war with Japan the Iban, in particular, had put up a strong resistance; the

Japanese except in strong parties had been afraid to go into Iban country and they, and some of the other indigenous people, had taken 1,500 heads. How were we to see anything of this country with a small and scattered population and no transport and with a Civil Government not yet firmly in the saddle?

For the answer we turned to that sure resource of those in difficulty, the Royal Navy. We urged that the Admiralty be requested to ask Admiral Mountbatten to put a ship at our disposal. Without delay the reply came back: H.M.S. Pickle, a minesweeper flotilla leader would be taken off sweeping duties to carry us on our lawful occasions. And, of course, in the result, the Navy did much more than that. Commander C. P. F. Brown, D.S.O., her captain, organised all the complicated maritime part of the itinerary and arranged for launches to take us up those parts of the rivers too shallow for our 1,000 tons vessel.

So we set off and on May 2, 1946, after meeting Admiral Mountbatten, Lord Killearn, Mr. Malcolm MacDonald and others, flew in an R.A.F. Sunderland flying boat from Singapore to Kuching, landing somewhat anxiously on an unswept river in which logs, tree trunks and other impedimenta bobbed merrily on their way to the sea.

We heard on arrival that the Rajah and the Ranee were already in Kuching and the Rajah's brother, Mr. Bertram Brooke, had arrived or was just about to arrive. There to meet us was an old friend in Mr. C. W. Dawson, the Secretary of State's representative. He and I used to do battle twelve or thirteen years before in the Kedah Courts where he was Public Prosecutor.

H.M.S. Pickle, neat, indeed shining, with her deck awnings up, her white clad sailors leaning over the rail, most of whom seemed incredibly young, and her 4-pounder gun, was tied up to the wharf. Across the river was the Astana or palace of the Rajah, a large, low building with an atap roof. Near to the Astana was the white-walled headquarters of the Sarawak constabulary.

We were soon immersed in meetings with the various officials and groups in Kuching and in discussions as to our best route. In a few days we set off from Kuching at seven in the morning with a lovely breeze blowing, a most enjoyable change from the sweltering heat of the town.

Our procedure was that the Pickle steamed up the rivers as far as she could go and then decanted us into launches in which we covered the rest of the way. These were delightful, memorable days. As the Pickle came steaming up the river, at every village and town the whole

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A scene on the Niah River, Sarawak (Shell photograph)

population would line the banks and shout and wave flags. For them in the narrow river she seemed like a battleship. The sailors would lean over the side and talk of their homes, lanes in Norfolk, streets in London, villages in Scotland. When the Pickle anchored, if there was a town or village near, the Pickle's crew would challenge the local lads to a game of football. Sometimes, too, Malay, Chinese or Dyak worthies arrived on board and were our guests. Their eyes became quite round and their jaws dropped at the size of our 4-pounder. "Wah," they would exclaim, "Verily a mighty cannon."

The launch would take us gaily along the river to a meeting place where those had gathered who wished to meet us. The Iban were fine-looking fellows. Some had been three weeks on their journey by canoe. They wore loin cloths, were tattooed and sported mighty head-dresses. We walked to the hut or bungalow to be used for our talk and they followed us. It was strange how primitive but sure had been their summons. An arrow with the message affixed to it was sent from long-house to long-house, each one being responsible for its carriage to the next; feathers on the arrow mean express delivery.

When we had taken our seats in the room the Dyaks and other tribal representatives would crowd in and the chiefs would give us their people's views. But, as I shall explain later, the Iban, like most tribal people are true democrats living under a socialist economy. Every tribesman would say his say, even if it tallied entirely with that of the chiefs. Then after handshakes all around we would resume our journey.

Once we stopped at a long-house. We were taken in canoes to the shore and then walked gingerly over fragile planks to the house. These residences are really villages in themselves accommodating from 10 to 30 or more families. Each family has a bedroom and the long verandah is the village street. We sat on the verandah

and conversed amicably with the inhabitants. It struck us as an economical method of housing but with the drawback for those who like privacy, and there are those who do not, of having precious little of this commodity.

The two most interesting towns were Brunei, the home of the Sultan and now the capital of a fabulously wealthy oil state, and Sibu. Brunei was an oriental Venice. We had come through a river so narrow, hemmed in with masses of vegetation and oozing slime, that the Pickle's sides were brushed by foliage, reaching as high as her bridge. Suddenly we came out into a wide lagoon and there was the largest purely Malay city in the world, a city on stilts.

Sibu is in the Iban country. After a meeting there, Mr. Dawson and I were walking up the street when one of the Dyak chiefs, whom we had already met, came up and introduced us to his wife, his wife's sister and her husband. The wife looked hard at Mr. Dawson. After a moment or two she said, just as a squire's lady would have said in years gone by in an English village, only the language of course was Malay, "Let me see, I have seen you somewhere before." "You have never seen me before," said Mr. Dawson. "Oh yes I have," said the lady, "You were with the Rajah at Sibu lately, weren't you?" And of course she was right. The Rajah, among other matters engaging his attention, had recently come up there to recover some Chinese heads to return them to their relatives. They were taken by the Iban by accident with those of the Japanese. Japanese heads, by the way, were very popular with the Dyaks as they usually had gold teeth and spectacles. Captain Gammans and I were offered the head of the Japanese Director of Education, an enormous cranium. We declined the offer.

(To be continued.)



Inside a longhouse. The girls are wearing elaborate sarongs woven with gold and silver thread. Their belts and bangles are made of solid silver (Shell photograph).

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## INDIANS and PAKISTANIS in TANGANYIKA

By Robert Denton Williams (Dar es Salaam)

THERE have been trading and other connections between Tanganyika and the West coast of India for several hundred years, and there is evidence of Indians having settled in Tanganyika before 1820. It was not, however, until the last fifty years that the Indian made any strong impression upon the territory.

A number of Indians were employed by the Germans and by 1914 there are believed to have been over three thousand in Tanganvika.

During the First World War, some of the Allied Forces which drove the Germans out of Tanganyika were largely composed of Indian troops—men from the Indian Army and from the States Forces. There is in Dar es Salaam a memorial to those who died in the fighting, men from the States of Kashmir and Hyderabad and from famous regiments of the Punjab and the North-West Frontier, and to quote the words of Mr. Winston Churchill, "The Sikh soldier bore an honourable part in the conquest and pacification of these African territories" (including Tanganyika).

However, it is only since 1920 that Indian influence has increased, and at the same time a fairly large influx of these people has taken place, so that to-day there are very nearly sixty thousand living in the territory, and about one-third of these live in the capital town of Dar es Salaam.

The total is composed of almost twenty thousand Hindus, about eighteen thousand Ismaili Khojas, better known as the followers of H.H. the Aga Khan, and another seventeen thousand Muslims of various sects, including Sunnis, Bohoras, and Ithnasheris, together with a smaller number of Sikhs, Indian Christians and people of mixed descent from Goa and elsewhere.

These people are hardworking, thrifty and loyal to their respective leaders. They are accustomed to the tropical heat and humidity of many parts of the country and are thus acclimatised to life here.

The majority have come from Gujerat, and therefore the predominant language is Gujerati, though shopkeepers often understand Hindustani. The children are learning English and it seems that in due course this language will replace the mother tongue.

There are few towns and villages which do not boast Indian shopkeepers and traders, and indeed much of the present activity in the remotest parts of the bush would never have come about had not these Indians accepted the loneliness and risked the dangers (to health and sanity) of life far away from the beaten track—risks which few European traders have taken, and involving occupations to which the African was not often suited.

Whenever the European has opened up a mine or projected a railway, the Indian has been summoned to help. He has built houses, erected and operated machinery, laid down railway lines and built bridges and generally performed a large part of the constructional tasks necessary to the opening up of a jungle country.

Many large estates, whether they grow cashew nuts, kapok, cotton, sisal or coffee are often owned, partly owned or worked by Indians. Most of these estates and most of the large mining companies employ Indians as clerks and bookkeepers, as mechanics and storekeepers, and in some cases the managers are Indians.

In the growing inland towns, the wholesale and retail trades are more often than not controlled by Hindu and Muslim businessmen. This is also true of the ports, though few Indians seem to have penetrated into the shipping world except as clerks

In Dar es Salaam and the main towns, there are rice mills, oil mills, soap factories, bakeries, furniture manufacturers, garages, and numerous other minor industries owned and operated by Indians, and wherever the European has set up similar organizations, there the Indian has found employment as an artisan or clerk—he is the blacksmith, the tinsmith or goldsmith, the mason or carpenter, and the shoemaker or hairdresser and fulfills a long list of other occupations too.

Indians, therefore, have a vital position in the trade and commerce of the territory; they are also found as employees of the customs, of the Post Office, with the Railways and Harbours, and in the vast majority of government offices, loyally performing all manner of duties, from those of office superintendents and chief clerks in the law courts to Inspectors of Police, telegraphists and locomotive engineers.

A traveller arriving in Dar es Salaam will probably have his passport and health documents examined by Indian inspectors, have his baggage inspected by an Indian customs' employee, then travel to the town in an Indian owned taxi and perhaps driven by an Indian, and he is quite likely to land in an Indian owned hotel, though the managers will be Europeans.

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Such is the impact of the Indian on the life of all who come to Dar es Salaam and indeed to many other parts of the territory—and this is only part of the story. What little known stories lie behind the facades of the huge number of modern buildings built by Indians during these last ten years? One quarter of all the new buildings in Dar es Salaam are Indian owned, and the town has doubled itself in size since 1945 and the same is true of the other big towns.

Now, on the horizon, are the beginnings of a political consciousness. For year, Indians have occupied positions on the Legislative and Executive Councils and in local affairs. The much respected second Mayor of Dar es Salaam was an Indian (his family has been on this coast since 1825), and no doubt many more influential and im-

portant positions in the community life of Tanganyika will fall to Indians in the future.

All signs point to an ever increasing willingness on the part of Indians in Tanganyika to take up responsible positions in local and even central affairs of government, and perhaps nowhere else in the world (or at least in Africa) are there greater opportunities for the practical demonstration of that mutual respect and tolerance which is often so elusive in multi-racial societies—and the Indian, forming as he probably does more than one-half of the English speaking inhabitants of Tanganyika, holds at least one-third of the key to this success. For he is neither Eastern nor Western, but very much in the centre of the two, and he is a law abiding citizen of this Trust Territory owing allegiance to the Crown of England.

### CHOU-SIN THE LAST OF THE SHANG

By James H. Jacques

POR nearly six and a half centuries, from B.C. 1766 until B.C. 1123, China was governed by the rulers of the second great dynasty, the Shang. Their dominions did not, of course, cover the whole of the eighteen provinces of modern China. They were confined to the upper valley of the Hwang-ho, and embraced, at the most, the four provinces of Honan, Shansi, Shensi, and Kansu. The southern parts of the country were still inhabited and controlled by peoples whom, for want of any better knowledge of these early times, we must still describe as "aborigines."

The Shang had entered China from the north-west, impinging first upon the province of Kansu, and spreading gradually eastward. In Kansu they found a sedentary agricultural people in possession. Who these people were we do not know; but the remains of their pottery seem to indicate extremely widespread cultural connections with places as far apart as the Indus Valley, Mesopotamia, and even with the "Black Earth Region" of south-east Europe.

From the outset the Shang possessed decided military advantages, which enabled them in a short space of time to reduce these earlier people to subjection. Somewhere in the course of their wanderings they had learnt the use of the war-chariot, and it is thought that they were the first to introduce bronze body-armour into China. Their bows, of the reflex type, were very powerful; and their extreme mobility, combined with the superior striking-power of their weapons, made them invincible.

The Shang are particularly interesting as furnishing us with the earliest ascertainable example of a type of movement which was to form a recurrent pattern in the history of China—the irruption into the civilised territories of the Chinese Empire of nomadic peoples from the steppes and deserts of Central Asia. They were the historical forerunners of the Huns, the Mongols and the Manchus.

They themselves appear to have been typical nomads of the steppe, despising agriculture and all forms of manual work. Having reduced the former sedentary population to subjection, they played the part of aristocratic feudal overlords, living on the tribute of their serfs.

The founder of the Shang Dynasty, Ch'eng-T'ang, known as "The Completer," left a memory which, even in the days of Confucius, was honoured by Chinese historians. He appears to have been a man of high character, capable of extreme self-abnegation, if the story be true which tells of how he once offered himself as a sacrifice to propitiate the gods and induce them to put an end to a severe and prolonged drought and famine. Fortunately, the rains came before the sacrificial ceremony was completed, and the emperor's life was saved.

In process of time, however, the character of the Shang monarchs deteriorated; and Chou-sin, the last of the line, who mounted the throne in B.C. 1154, displayed all the worst vices of a spoilt oriental despot. Not only did he consistently refuse to listen to good advice; he usually put to death anyone who was courageous enough to proffer it.

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One of the most illustrious of Chou-sin's victims was his own kinsman and minister, Pi-kan, who had incautiously pointed out to the emperor the error of his ways. Turning to his attendants, the emperor ordered them to tear his relative's heart out. "I have heard it reported," he said, "that the human heart has seven openings. I will verify this in the person of Pi-kan."

Another of his ministers, Ki-tsze, also incurred his displeasure and was imprisoned. He, however, lived long enough to see the fall of the dynasty. Refusing otters of honourable service under the succeeding Chou Dynasty, Ki-tsze, still faithful to the memory of the emperor who had imprisoned him, chose to go into exile. He departed with his followers to Korea, and, having conquered that country, founded a dynasty there, which endured until B.C. 193. To Korea Ki-tsze gave the now ironically sounding name of Cho-sen, or "Land of the Morning Calm."

His character being what it was, there was only one thing which might possibly have saved Chou-sin from himself. Had he had the good fortune to fall under the influence of a wise and good woman, there might still have been some hope for him. We have the report of a speech made by him to his troops on the day of the last decisive battle. From this we might infer that he had at least some definite ideas on the subject of military discipline and tactics, and it is not impossible that in him there slumbered some of the virtues of the early Shang emperors.

Destiny, however, had chosen for this cruel tyrant a mate more fitted to vie with him in cruelty than to curb his evil passions. The lady on whom his fancy fell was T'a-ki, the daughter of a chief of Su. T'a-ki had been led away captive in one of the wars of the period, and it was during her captivity that Chou-sin first met her and quickly fell in love with her. Unable, probably for reasons of court etiquette, to make her his empress, he elevated her to the position of his favourite mistress, and together they embarked upon a career of crime, which was to end in the downfall of the Shang Dynasty.

The character of T'a-ki is a fascinating subject for study. That she was capable of terrible cruelty there is no doubt. She is credited with the invention of several new and ingenious forms and instruments of torture. On the other hand, we are told, the charm of her personality was so intense that she fascinated all men from the first moment of seeing her. It is possible that the hardships of her early life, of exile from her home and parents, and the unique opportunities provided by her alliance with the emperor, did much to develop the worst traits of her character, and that in different circumstances she might have been a different woman. There is, in fact, something sinister in the destiny that brought these two people together.

For T'a-ki Chou-sin built a marble palace, surrounded by beautiful gardens; and within these precincts they retired to enjoy what rumour described as orgies of lust and cruelty, while their subjects suffered under the oppressions of an evil government. This palace was known as Lu-T'ai, or Deer Tower.

It is reported that one of their favourite amusements was the sport of the "Copper Pillar." This was one of T'a-ki's own inventions. It consisted of a thick bar, or column, of copper, well greased, and placed in position over a pit in which a slow fire was kept burning. The victims having been chosen, they were made to walk in turn across this greased metal bridge, while Chou-sin and his paramour mocked their unavailing efforts to reach the other side, and enjoyed the tortures which they suffered in a slow death by burning.

But the cruelties of Chou-sin were at length too much even for the monumental patience of his Chinese subjects, and they rebelled against him. The leader of the revolt was Chang, Duke of Chou, better known by his temple title of Wen-Wang.

The revolt was successful. Chou-sin roused himself for a last desperate effort to re-establish his authority. The decisive battle was fought at the Ford of Meng, where the emperor's troops were routed.

Chou-sin himself refused to surrender. Donning his imperial robes, he retired to the marble palace of Lu-T'ai, where so much of his time with T'a-ki had been spent in frivolous revelry. There after setting fire to the building, he threw himself into the flames and perished amidst the ruins of the palace.

T'a-ki was captured and condemned to death. In the description which has come down to us of her last moments there is something reminiscent of Homer. We know this woman, as we know Helen of Troy, not from any direct allusion to her physical charms, but rather to a description of the effect which she had upon the men who surrounded her.

When sentence of execution had been passed upon her, no man was found willing to strike off that lovely head. Neither threats nor promises of reward would induce any man to be her executioner. At last an aged counsellor, T'ai-Kung, stepped forward and, having first covered his face, lest he too should fall under her spell, dealt the blow that put an end to the life of one of the most fascinating women in history.

So ended the great Shang Dynasty. The successful rebel established on its ruins the imperial line of the Chou, destined to rule over China for almost a thousand years—the longest of her great dynasties (B.C. 1122-249).

To make some atonement for the cruelties of the reign of Chou-sin, the treasures which he had collected in the Lu-T'ai palace and pleasure grounds were distributed amongst the people.

## LONDON NOTEBOOK

#### Burmese Mission

An important Burmese Mission consisting of politicians, civil servants and defence experts, recently studied conditions in various European countries. tour comprised Yugoslavia, Italy, Switzerland, Sweden, Western Germany and Britain. Members of the Mission were particularly impressed by Yugoslavia's courageous stand against strong neighbours, by Germany's quick recovery from her war losses, and by Sweden's skill in keeping her neutrality. The Mission was led by H.E. U Kyaw Nyein, the former Foreign Minister who is now the secretary of AFPEL (Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League) the party in power, and by Brigadier Kyaw Zaw, who is responsible for the defence of southern Burma. Before leaving Britain, U Kyaw Nyein explained that Burma had three immediate aims: (1) to remain strictly neutral in the present world situation, (2) to build up her defences and (3) to speedily introduce industrialisation as this was needed for defence.

#### Photographic Masterpieces

A remarkable exhibition of photographs depicting "The old and the new in South-East Asia," was organised last month by the "Shell" Photographic Unit. The exhibits consisted of some 150 out-

standing examples of the 8,000 pictures taken by Mr. Derrick Knight dring his recent 18-months tour of Indo-China, Thailand, Borneo, Hong Kong, Singapore, Malaya and Indonesia. Mr. Knight, who



is 33, is the chief photographer of the Unit and a master of his art.

The fascination of his pictures is manifold: they capture the atmosphere of the various countries and their peoples, they go, where he finds it desirable, into amazing detail of art or industry and sometimes allow themselves to leave the purposeful "documentary" character for the sake of sheer beauty.

#### Materials for Ceylon

The exhibition, which was a great succes in London, is now to be shown in the Hague and in other European capitals.

Sir John Kotelawala, Cevlon's Minister of Works, stopped in London for a short visit last month. Dissatisfied with the progress of some of Ceylon's development plans which are held up because of the delay in steel and cement deliveries, the Minister is now trying to hasten up supplies. Similarly, deliveries of some machinery are now long overdue, and prices having gone up since the time of ordering, have had a serious bearing on the costing of the schemes. Sir John, with his usual energy and resourcefulness, now tries to obtain his requirements on the free competitive world markets.

#### Indonesian Delegations

Two parties of Indonesian officials and journalists toured Britain last month as official visitors. They included Mr. Sutadi, Head of the Licensing Office of the Industrial Department of the Ministry of Economic Affairs, Mr. Pattiradjawane, Assistant Head of the Import Planning Department, and Mr. Muhjan, Head of the Periodicals Section of the same Ministry. The Press was represented by Mr. Hetami, Editor of Suara Merdeka, Mr. Rondonuwu, Editor of Pedoman Rakjat, Mr. Suwandi, Joint Editor of Djojobojo, Mr. Mara Karma of Abadi, and Mr. Djaffar of Waspada. Their itinerary included a comprehensive tour of the country and visits to many of the most important industrial enterprises as well as to educational and civic institutions.

### Letters to the Editor

#### The Anglo-Indians

Sir,—In his letter on Anglo-Indians published in your August, 1952, issue Mr. U. V. Seetaramaiya, of Bangalore, voices an opinion which he shares with many other realistic and genuine Indian patriots. If the Congress political bosses had alighted from the saddle of power after securing their aims, all might have been well for there are many able and clever administrators of Indian nationality available to take over. Now, as a direct result of mixing politics with government, there is a nice, healthy Communist party growing up and that means trouble.

But this is getting away from the subject. The ideal solution of the Anglo-Indian problem and of those Indians who might have still wished to live under British authority was obviously the creation of a third state. At one time many thought that this haven of refuge would be the Nizam's Dominions of Hyderabad State until the Indian police action forced the Nizam to relinquish his

independence. In order to make this new British Dominion self-sustaining and not subject to Indian laws and regulations, it could have been extended in the West to meet the Portuguese territory of Goa and contracted in the East so that the Indian Union would have lost no territory in square miles.

To this haven could have emigrated and settled those thousands of Anglo-Indians scattered all over India and Pakistan together with Indians who feel like Mr. Seetaramaiya. There would have been objections to this proposed enclave, but they would not have been any more serious than the hue and cry over the creation of Pakistan.

However, people in a panic leave everything behind them regardless of value and it is too late now unless Red China makes her ultimate goal clear. Then, under the stress of dire necessity, the Indian Government might welcome back the Anglo-Indian community and agree to make adequate provision for a people who, though partly Asian in blood, are wholly European in character.

> Yours truly, John Stephen.

Bombay.

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## FROM ALL QUARTERS

#### The Taj Mahal Repaired

The Taj Mahal at Agra has undergone a thorough renovation—the first since 1874. The repairs were started in 1940, and for this work skilled craftsmen from Agra were employed.

The 300-year old mausoleum, built as a memorial to his wife by the Mughal Emperor Shah Jehan, is set in a garden of cypress trees, lawns and lakes. The tomb itself consists of a white marble building raised on a terrace and



The Taj Mahal by moonlight (BOAC Photograph)

surrounded by four smaller domes. At the angles of the terrace are four minarets. A double screen of pierced marble surrounds the cenotaphs of the Emperor and his wife and the interior is strikingly decorated with inlaid precious stones. The Taj, like other late Moghul monuments in India, shows little affinity with Indian conceptions of architecture, but represents rather the evolution of a style of building, inspired by the Timoured buildings of Central Asia, in which the decorative mosaic and tilework has been replaced by inlaid precious stones on marble.

#### British Books in Burma

About 2,000 books, of which 250 are children's books and the rest textbooks, were presented by British publishers for exhibition in Burma under British Council auspices. Among the textbooks the largest section dealt with the teaching of English, but all the usual subjects in the School curriculum were represented, including many scientific subjects, civil and social history, sports, handicrafts and domestic science. The Exhibition first opened in Rangoon, where over 2,500 people attended the first showing, and will later be shown in other towns in Burma.

To widen the scope of their library services in Burma, the British Council recently began a book-box scheme by which British books can be borrowed and read in the less accessible parts of the country. There English-reading Burmese have hitherto been without any regular supply of British books.

The scheme is based on Rangoon and the boxes are sent out on five routes dividing the country into regions, each of which has four or five stations or borrowing-points. There are five boxes to a route and each contains 40 books from the Council library at Rangoon. Careful arrangements have had to be made to convey the boxes by 1ail, river and sea along the routes. At every borrowing point there are usually 20 or 30 senior officials who read English and always as many clerks and junior officials.

#### China Buys Tibet's Wool

Eight million pounds of wool have been bought by China under the recent trade agreement, according to Mr. T. N. Sheppa, secretary of the Tibetan Traders Association. The bulk of the wool was lying at Kalimpong, and to speed up sorting, baling and shipping to the Chinest agents at Calcutta, the Association, by agreement with the traders, had taken over all the privately owned Tibetan wool presses and warehouses. The Chinese are paying Rs. 184 for eighty pounds of the best grades of white wool and payment is being made in Indian currency. The eight million pounds of wool represents Tibet's average wool exports, previously sent to the United States and India.

#### Agricultural Development in New Guinea

A start has been made with the execution of the "Nimboran Plan," a trial project for the development of Netherlands New Guinea, which has been sanctioned and financially supported by the South Pacific Commission.

Nimboran is the name of a plain near Lake Sentani in Hollandia which is expected to yield about 12,300 acres of agricultural land after drainage and tillage.

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#### Asian Students for Sweden

Asian students will be invited to Sweden for tenmonths periods to study self-government problems and the working of the Swedish Government. The scheme is one of the steps designed to help underdeveloped countries to solve their organisational problems, and makes provision for four months of theoretical studies at a central institute, followed by six months of practical observation of the functioning of Swedish schools, hospitals, courts and other democratic institutions.

#### Norwegian Aid-to-India Plan

The Norwegian Government has launched a £1 million aid-to-India Plan. £500,000 has already been voted for by the Norwegian Parliament, and it is hoped to raise the other £500,000 by public subscriptions. Dr. H. U. Sverdrup, the noted scientist, has been appointed chairman of the Assistance Fund for Underdeveloped Countries, and Dr. Karl Evang, Norway's Director-General of Health, has been nominated vice-chairman.

Similar to 65 other countries, Norway is already contributing £20,000 a year to the U.N. Fund for Assistance to Underdeveloped Countries, but this is the first time that a country has introduced a nation-wide campaign for such an aid plan.

It is probable that the resources at the Fund's disposal will be used in one limited district of India, but the details

have not yet been worked out. The Fund will send representatives to India at the end of this month to discuss the plan with the Indian Government and with officials of the United Nations.

#### Forestry Training in Asia

Trainees from various Asian countries will attend special courses at the Forest Research Institute and the Forestry Colleges of Dehra Dun, India. The courses are jointly sponsored by the Government of India and the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations (FAO). The first course, which will last three months, has already started on 1st October and is attended by technicians from Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, Laos, Nepal, Pakistan, Philippines, Thailand and Viet Nam in addition to the Indian participants. The second course, to start next April, will be for two years. The curriculum of these courses includes studies in mycology, entomology, wood seasoning, wood preservation, wood technology, timber engineering, composite wood, wood working, and cellulose and paper.

Dehra Dun is the seat of a large organisation known as the Forest Research Institute and Colleges, which is the centre of forest research and forest education in India. The Institution stands on 1,100 acres of land at the foot of the Himalayas.

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The annual reports on the affairs of the Federation The latest available issue is for 1949: the 1950 issue is out of print.

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#### **Economic Conditions**

A report by K. E. Mackenzie, dated March 1951, has been issued in the series of Overseas Economic Surveys. 6s. 6d. (6s. 10d)

#### Facts Behind the Fighting

An illustrated booklet about the present situation, how it came about, and the steps being taken to deal with it.

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## **BOOKS** on the

Japan. Edited by Hugh Borton (Cornell University Press. London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, 25s.)

The twenty contributors to this symposium wrote their articles originally for the 1951 edition of the Encyclopaedia Americana. The issue of these collected contributions in book form is intended to provide a basic factual survey for an introduction to the study of Japanese civilization from the beginning down to the middle of 1950. Most general readers will find the greater part of their questions answered here, many readers who have a little knowledge of Japan will experience a sense of disappointment that some of the articles are so short.

Yet so succinct is the style of most of the writers that much more is packed into a few pages than appears possible at first sight. The section on language occupies but two pages and nine lines of bibliography yet, short of embarking on a grammar of the language little essential is omitted; literature is given 11 pages to cover the period 712-1950. Elsewhere (e.g. the 12 pages given to Way of Life) the same orderly marshalling of facts and incisive diction makes it possible to present much information in little space. Naturally, the more up-to-date sections on population, occupations, administration, etc., will need more speedy and regular revision; the other parts will for a long time hold their place as authoritative material on the Japan that was and that which now is.

#### Hiroshige: Japanische Landschaftsbilder by WALTER

EXNER (Frankenau/Germany: Siebenberg Verlag)
This small album of reproductions contains 16 of the better known Hiroshige colour prints from the Exner Col-

lection. Technically perfect as are these miniature reproductions, the chief value of the work lies in the sympathetic interpretations of the landscapes on the facing pages, obviously a labour of love resulting from long contemplation and study.

NEVILLE WHYMANT

## La Chine Future by PIERRE NAVILLE (Paris: Editions de Minuit)

M. Naville has written his little book on the basis of profound study of Chinese reportage and other material over a period of twenty years. His abiding faith is one with which few will quarrel, that China now and in the future will be (as she has been in the past) the architect of her own destiny. The outsider may try to climb the formidable city walls, may attempt conquest from without or from within, but the eventual triumph will be with that incalculable something which is sometimes called the Chinese ethos, spirit, quality, soul or essence. Some of the

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## FAR EAST

author's chapters are provokingly short, others are long enough to make the reader wish they had twice their length. Most intelligent readers will admit that they already knew much of what is here; many will find refreshing stimulus in a book which is largely free from political special pleading and persuasive propaganda.

NEVILLE WHYMANT

Beyond East and West by JOHN C. H. Wu (Sheed and Ward, 21s.)

Dr. Wu was a traditional scholar of Confucian China; he was attracted by the law and also contributed much to studies of Chinese literature. His essays on the Four Seasons of T'ang Poetry are of the utmost value to Western students. But for Dr. Wu the ethic of Confucious and the glories of his ancient literature were not enough; he felt a great restlessness, a sense of deep malaise for which he could find no remedy. At length the Roman Catholic Church seemed to him to offer the only possible resolution of the conflict within him. How great a reward his faith proved to be can be told effectively only in the author's own words. Dr. Wu's wide reading of Eastern and Western literature, his deep convictions, his passionate faith and apostolic fervour make the reading of this book an experience not readily forgotten.

The Fiji Islands by R. A. Derrick (Suva, Government Printing Department, 25s.)

Little was heard of the Fiji Islands until the outbreak of the war in the Pacific in 1941, when Fiji became an important supply station on the route to Australia and New Zealand. It is, therefore, most timely that a complete handbook on the Fijian Islands should be published. Although "handbook" usually denotes a collection of factual but rather dry information, this is not the case here. The Fiji Islands is a blueprint for all future handbook compilers. It is admirably produced, the illustrations are not only lavish, but up to date, and further, innumerable maps and diagrams make this a most lucid and helpful account of the Fijian Archipelago.

Mr. Derrick has covered every aspect of Fijian life, history and geography. Its flora and fauna, its peoples, trade and communications are all described in a concise and orderly manner, and all those whose picture of the Archipelago is limited to palm trees and lagoons, or those who, having had personal contact with Fiji but who would like to know more of its fascinating geographical structure, will derive much instruction and pleasure from this book.

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Land Reform (UN Department of Economic Affairs. London: H.M. Stationery Office, 5s.)

About 60 per cent. of the world's population depend on agriculture for their livelihood. In contrast to Europe and America where one in three and one in five persons respectively depend on agriculture, we find in Asia and Africa that three persons out of four earn their living on the land. But while in America the output per person on the land is  $2\frac{1}{2}$  tons, in Asia it is below a quarter of a ton and in Africa less than an eighth.

This study of the defects in agrarian structures in backward countries has been undertaken at the behest of the United Nations General Assembly and with the help of the Food and Agricultural Organisation. It examines those factors which impede efficient farming. These include uneconomic holdings, insecure tenures, concentration of holdings in large estates, underpaid agricultural labour, high taxes and inadequate agricultural credit facilities.

B.E.U.F.

The Aga Khan by STANLEY JACKSON (Odhams, 15s.)

A lively and straightforward biography of the Aga Khan. The author successfully delineates the various roles which the Aga Khan has filled for so long—the owner and breeder of racehorses, the bon viveur, the shrewd businessman and the spiritual leader of ten million Moslems. The account is enlivened by numerous personal anecdotes.

The Psalm of Peace by Teja Singh (Oxford University Press, 8s. 6d.)

The Psalm of Peace of Sukhmani is an important composition of Guru Arjun and is recited early in the morning by all devout Sikhs. Arjun was fifth in succession to Guru Nanak, and his life was characterised by a practical approach to worldly welfare, together with a complete absence of personal ambition. He was no believer in peace at any price, however, and finally paid by his life for his convictions.

The psalm of peace is characterised by its calmness and tranquility, although it emanated from one who had undergone tremendous struggles with pain and suffering. Prof. Singh's translation has been most carefully and lovingly undertaken, and has preserved the spirit and much of the forceful integrity of the original.

S. SINGH

Siamese Harem Life by Anna Leonowens (Arthur Barker, 21s.)

Anna Leonowens, now famous as the heroine of "Anna and the King of Siam," was one of those extraordinary products of the Victorian age. She was only 27 when King Mongkut of Siam, an enlightened ruler, wrote to her and asked her to be the governess to his children. At that time, 1862, Siam was almost an unknown country, little influenced by European ways of life, and Mrs. Leonowens showed courage and daring in accepting such a post. She remained in Siam for five and a half years, and during that time naturally found much to astonish and disquiet a woman with a traditional Victorian upbringing. But she was quite uninhibited and fought so well against cruelty and injustice that her influence with the King was quite remarkable, although he found her firmness sometimes rather disconcerting. In this book Mrs. Leonowens gives a vivid picture of nineteenth century Siam, mixed with stories, legends and personal reminiscences which serve to depict the humour and resourcefulness of an English governess who became the confidante and adviser of princesses and slaves. The illustrations by Rupert Forrest are delicate and pleasing. M.K.

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Fifth Chinese Daughter by JADE Snow Wong (Hurst and Blackett, 15s.)

An unpretentious and entertaining account of a Chinese family life in San Francisco. Jade Snow, to-day a successful ceramic artist, was born into a household where the old Chinese traditions of decorum and propriety were still maintained in spite of foreign surroundings. difficulties encountered by the younger generation when they attend school and try to adapt themselves to the freedom of the school and the strict parental authority at home are described, with humour and understanding. And throughout her narrative Jade Snow has given a picture of the life of Chinatown, and of some of the people she knew.

Going My Way Round the World by JACQUES CHEGARAY (Arthur Barker, 15s.)

This is a travel book with a difference. For those of us who managed to reach the uttermost ends of the earth only after heavy payments to shipping companies, the idea of "thumbing one's way" round the world has a touch of the bizarre. It did not, however, present many difficulties to M. Chegaray whose greatest task, he tells us, was to get Yet as the end-paper maps show, he out of France! journeyed from Paris along the well-beaten track of Mediterranean, Red Sea, Indian Ocean, South China Sea, Borneo and French Caledonian waters, the South Pacific and the Atlantic, to Havre and Paris again.

Here is no dull guide book but a stimulating adventure story. Humour, pathos, wonder, bewilderment; but over all an undaunted will to go, to see, to do. In these blasé days of boredom such a book is a mighty stimulus.

Heart of Asia by ROY CHAPMAN ANDREWS (Arthur Barker, 9s. 6d.)

Those who enjoy the "Truth is stranger than fiction" type of story will find this collection of tales by an American explorer to their taste. After thirty years of roaming in remote parts of the world, it was inevitable that some unusual experiences would be encountered, and these are here described without any pretence to literary embellishment, but are nevertheless colourful and entertaining.

Wall Charts on the Far East (Educational Productions,

This set of six wall charts is designed to present the salient features of the Far East in outline map form, with border illustrations of scenes of city and landscape. Small panels give necesary factual data such as distances between key points, chief crops, population and other statistics. The charts are boldly clear, well printed, simple and readily taken in by young people who see them for a few days; they are 24 ins. by 22 ins. and deal with: (1) a general view of the Far East; (2) Hong Kong; (3) and (4) the Federation of Malaya; (5) Singapore and (6) North Borneo and Sarawak.

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Arab Seafaring in the Indian Ocean by George Fadlo Hourani (Princeton University Press, \$3.00)

This is a clear straightforward account of Arab seafaring in the Indian Ocean from the earliest days up to the end of the 10th Century A.D.

By then Arab maritime commerce had reached its peak, and the records of later times do little else than show it continuing on well-established lines. In trade and navigation Arab leadership was maintained until broken by the entry into Eastern waters of the Portuguese under Vasco da Gama in 1498.

A fact in Hellenistic times of interest is the part played by the island of Discordia (Socotra). From here it was that the Apostle St. Thomas is said to have set forth in the first century A.D. to evangelize the East. He landed on the Malabar Coast near the modern Cranganore (the Roman Muziris), about 70 miles north of the ancient port of Mali (modern Quilon), to found the Malabar Christian Church.

To have crossed the Indian Ocean in the ships of those days called for an adventurous spirit and navigational skill of no mean order. The crude magnitic compass, if in truth used, appears to have been of little benefit. It is apparent therefore that these Arab seacaptains relied on their knowledge of the stars to navigate by.

A most interesting and informative account is given of the Arab craft. "It is quite probable," the author says guardedly, "that the lateen sail was brought to the Mediterranean by the Arabs." If this were so, he continues, "it may be counted as ultimately one of their major contributions to material culture. For without the lateen, the European mizzen on the three-masters would have been impossible, and the ocean voyages of the great explorers could never have taken place."

The account of Arab navigation and life at sea will appeal to all who are fond of sailing. The immortal Thousand and One Nights and the adventures of Sindbad have already acquainted us with the preparations for a voyage in the days of the Caliphs and of the perils which the mariners faced. But the author includes from other Arabic sources four short sea-stories which are natural and convincing.

W. A. GARSTIN

## Review of Reviews

N the subject of Asia not a few western writers tend to season their reasoning with an undue amount of complacency. Likely solutions to problems are recounted entirely from their own viewpoint with little, and in some cases no, consideration for how Asians themselves feel. If the tuture of Asia were entirely in the hands of the west this approach would be quite justified, but it is not, and the views of indigenous peoples and their leaders towards the destiny of Asia must be the basis of any consideration of affairs in that area. It is, of course, very difficult for a westerner if he feels that he has all the weight of intellectual and political experience behind him, not to be didactic. However, such an approach is, for Asians, highly suspect and can do as much to maintain a gulf between eastern and western interpretations as can aloof indifference.

In United Asia (Vol. 4, No. 3), Professor Russell Fifield of Michigan University writes an article which he calls "Containment of Communism in South-East Asia." The title suggests a negative approach. Having assumed that Communism has arrived, or is bettering at the door, the article lays down, in a manner conceived of a western mind, what should be done "The nationalistic Governments themselves in S. E. about it. Asia must be made more fully aware of the objectives and techniques of the communist effort," says the author. He makes clear that economic aid to South-East Asia is essential because of the threat of Communism. No one would dispute that if the economy of an underdeveloped country is made stronger and living standards higher, the attraction of the people to what the Communists have to offer is less. What is regrettable is that this article, like so many others, does not suggest, or even infer, that economic rehabilitation in South-East Asia is desirable for Sir William P. Barton at the end of a good its own sake. round-up article on the Indian elections in the Fortnightly for September criticizes Mr. Nehru for his neutralism in foreign affairs and suggests, in a veiled sort of way, that the west,

realizing the future of Congress and its leader depends "on whether a solution can be tound of the economic problem," is disappointed that Nemu nad not made it his firm policy "to play a part in building up a barrier against Communism in South-East Asia in alliance with the west."

When Mr. Nehru stated that India would only accept aid so long as it had no political or military strings, he was telling the west, in effect, that he wanted to cure his country's economic ills because they needed curing, not because India would jurn Communist if those ills were left unattended.

Aside from political reasons, aid to underdeveloped countries is vital because the people are, to quote from an article on technical assistance by P. S. Narasimhan in the Indian Quarterly (Vol. VIII, No. 2), "becoming increasingly conscious of their poverty and the need to improve their living standards." importance of economic development in South-East Asia can be judged from the number of authoritative articles which have appeared recently, and in the Indian Quarterly, together with Mr. Narasimhan's article, are six others on economic rehabilitation, including one on the Colombo Plan and another called "Three Years of Point Four.' Mention of any political motives behind such aid is conspicuously absent from most of these articles, but G. R. Gadgil, in "Economic Development in India," is frankly revealing when he says: "Governments of underdeveloped countries in non-Communist areas have begun to become aware of the need to improve internal economic conditions in order to keep in check the growing influence of Communist This again is as good as saying that living standards and general welfare are scarcely worth bothering with until discontent begins to crystallize into political expression.

Aid to underdeveloped countries is a subject which deserves special attention by students of international affairs, for it is the initial treatment of raw material from which will no doubt emerge strong democratic communities. How this treatment works is adequately covered by volume eight of *Indian Qdarterly* and in an article by Hugh L. Keenleyside on UN Technical Assistance in *Pakistan Horizon* (Vol. V, No. 1).

J. W. T. COOPER

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## WILL JAPAN MOVE LEFT?

By H. C. K. Woddis



Labour demonstration in Tokyo

The Left Wing in Japanese Politics by EVELYN S. COLBERT (Institute of Pacific Relations, \$4.50)

THE results of the Japanese Elections held on October 1, lend added interest to this book which concerns the period from 1918 to 1948. It carries an epilogue continuing the story to 1950, written presumably in 1951, and was finally published in 1952. Yet so rapid and sweeping have been the changes in Japan in the past six to twelve months, especially in the sphere of labour affairs, that already Mrs. Colbert's book has become a source of background information rather than an analysis of present-day trends.

In his preface, Hugh Borton estimates "Communist influence being on the wane," though he is wise enough to add, "for the moment."

Despite all the valuable material which Mrs. Colbert's book contains, including all the main programmatic documents of the left-wing parties from 1918 onwards, as well as all the complex shifts and changes and alterations of name, which have always made the study of the Japanese labour movement a problem for the student, the material is assembled in a form which really leads to no very clear picture or conclusion. Mrs. Colbert has tended to examine the past, including the recent past, in the form of a collection of documents, programmes, and personal defections of individuals from parties, rather than in the form of a struggle around very real questions. This study of the left-wing political movement in Japan, covering a period of over 30 years, is somewhat divorced from the economic and social developments that were taking place during that period, as well as from the major political questions of the time.

It is perhaps for this reason that the various moves towards unity on the left, the constant break-up of such moves and the formation of new parties, new organisations, new alliances and new groupings, becomes a catalogue of events from which it is very difficult at times to discern in what direction the movement is really travelling. (Incidentally, I think Mrs. Colbert rather adds to the difficulty by her use of Japanese names for political parties and trade unions, and only occasionally of their English equivalents, so that after a time, one's mind becomes a whirl of Nippon Kyosanto, Sodomei, Hyogikai, Nippon Rodo, Kumiai Sorengo, Nippon Nomin Kumiai, Suiheisha, Nomin Rodoto, Rodo Nominto, Zen Nippon Nomin Kumiai Domei, Nippon Nominto, Shakai Minshuto, Nippon Rodo Kumiai Domei, Nippon Ronoto. These are the names of the various organisations which appear merely on pages 9 - 17! So the reader can imagine how difficult it becomes after 300 pages!)

But even if one were to agree that this constant division and formation of new parties and organisations has been the essence of the history of the Japanese working-class movement, that it has been inconclusive, that it has constantly been suppressed, that it has incessantly thrown up new parties, formed new trade union centres, new farmers' organisations, and new youth organisations, and that at no time has there been, except for very short periods, any real unity on the left, one can't help feeling that Mrs. Colbert, with all the sources of material she has obviously had at her disposal, could have told us more. To any student of labour affairs, Japan offers some very striking peculiarities; and one of the most important of these is the constant birth of new trade union centres and new political parties.

The fact is that Japan is undergoing a very deep economic and political crisis. The Japanese people are taking stock of their position, re-assessing the events since 1945, and drawing their own conclusions. And one of the main conclusions being drawn is that their economic plight and the restrictions on their national sovereignty can be largely placed at the door of the United States. It is perhaps difficult for the Westerner to understand the feeling of the average Japanese towards the United States, especially as so much propaganda from MacArthur and his successors has poured out from Tokyo in the past seven years, creating an impression of a contrite, grateful people peacefully building up a "democratic Japan" under the benign guidance of Emperor MacArthur.

Actually, the true feelings of the Japanese people can better be judged from the current campaign against the moral behaviour of G.I.'s in Japan; the great outburst of popular feeling that accompanied the recent publication, for the first time, of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki photos; the widespread condemnation of the "security treaty" giving America bases in Japan; and the recent overwhelming defeat, by 179 votes to 42, of the proposal that the General Council of Japanese Labour Unions (Sohyo) affiliate to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, a body which the American Business Week has described

as "an arm of the State Department."

Outstanding in recent months has been the strike struggle and the growing influence of the Left inside the legal trade union movement. From March 1 onwards there has been a continuous flood of powerful strikes and demonstrations embracing several million workers and students throughout the country. On March 1, about 100,000 workers demonstrated in Tokyo against the Subversive Activities Prevention Bill and the Criminal Activities Bill. On April 1, the first of three big strikes against these anti-trade union bills, was held. Several hundred thousands responded to the call of the General Council of Japanese Labour Unions (Sohyo), and several hundred thousand more held token stoppages or meetings in support of the strikers. When is it realised that the General Council of Japanese Labour Unions was originally set up with the encouragement of the American occupation authorities and the Japanese Government, the significance of this strike call can be readily appreciated. The second strike against these bills, held on April 18, involved some three and a half million workers, including those who held supporting meetings.

These two strikes and the growing resentment against the Government and the American occupation, arising from the really catastrophic decline in the conditions of the people in recent months, led to the unprecedented and now historic demonstrations on May Day. On that day over 400 demonstrations were held throughout Japan, attended by several million people. The most important meeting was in Tokyo, where 400,000 workers insisted on passing a most strongly-worded resolution condemning the Yoshida Government and the American occupation forces. When the procession started its march past the Imperial Palace, shouting "Americans, go home!" a fight broke out with the police, who, judging from the news films shown in this country and from the photographs widely published in

the Japanese press, used extreme violence, including firearms. The battle between demonstrators and police raged for five hours. American sailors were thrown into the moat before the palace, American cars burnt, and the windows of Ridgeway's headquarters broken. By the end of the day, 10 workers were reported dead, 1,400 injured and 900 arrested.

A few weeks later, the third round of strikes against the anti-trade union bills was held—in two parts. On June 7, nearly three million workers came out on strike, or took part in supporting meetings. And on June 17, a further two and a quarter million participated.

From the wide support given to these strikes against the bills, it is evident that it is not merely the Left-wing workers who oppose them. In fact, members of all the opposition parties, members of Yoshida's party, and wide sections of the press have condemned these bills as a flagrant attempt to re-establish the pre-war pattern of "thought-control" and repression of labour organisations.

The growth of the left-wing in the trade union movement was made apparent at the recent Third Congress of the General Council of Japanese Trade Unions. Some indication as to what would happen was given a few weeks prior to the Congress when the Congresses of the 400,000 strong State Railway Workers' Federation and the 290,000 strong Miners' Federation both resulted in the complete sweeping-out of the old conservative leadership. The same trend was revealed at the General Council Congress, despite the presence of two American trade union leaders, Townsend and Devergold, who declared that they had come to organise "the anticommunist forces in Asia," with the Japanese trade unions as the core. The Congress finally passed a resolution calling for struggle "against the threat of a new war which the American monopolies are forcing on the world," against the separate treaties and the "security pact," against re-armament and the cession to America of military bases on Japanese soil, and against the employers' attacks on the rights and conditions of the workers.

On other matters, too, opposition to the Government and the American occupation authorities has been growing. The recent issue of the British sailors at Kobe can only be understood against this background of an increasing resentment at an American Occupation which the San Francisco Treaty has really done little to change.

There is strong feeling too, concerning the pressure from America against Japan opening large-scale trading with China, Japan's main pre-war customer. It is significant that powerful bodies, such as the Osaka Chamber of Commerce, favoured the sending a few months ago of delegates to the Economic Conference in Moscow. Three Japanese delegates actually went to the Soviet capital, and later to Peking, with the result that a £30 million (each way) Sino-Japanese trade agreement was signed, and a Japanese International Trade Promotion Committee has since been set up. Wide interest is currently being shown in the Peking Peace Conference, which Emperor Hirohita's own brother, Prince Mikasa Kiya, has favoured.

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## PIDGIN ENGLISH— A TRUE LINGUA FRANCA

By Edmund Roberts

"PIDGIN" English is still the principal language spoken in the Solomon Islands, according to the just published report for the Protectorate for the past two years "This babel of tongues—Melanesian, Polynesian and aboriginal dialects—has resulted in the locally-invented language of 'pidgin' English," says the report. "Although at first somewhat distasteful to the ear of an English-speaking person, the language is nevertheless flexible and expressive, and a true lingua franca. It is used officially . .." a fact which proves its importance.

Pidgin English is used over a wide area of the Pacific and the East, and one hears such things as: "He got sheepy--sheepy? "-one of the strange phrases coming over from the air from Port Moresby, capital of the Australian territory of Papua (New Guinea) these days. many others, which sound curious to our ears, occur in sessions of pidgan English regularly beamed to the Papuans. I am afraid the answer to the above question—at any rate from people in Britain-would be, in everyday English, "Precious little," for it means, 'Is there any lamb?" And there is not much opportunity either of doing what the following suggests: "Bel belong me be-full up too-Which, in Parliamentary language, means " I have overeaten." These one or two examples indicate the undoubted fascination of this "mongrel" English, which is widely used in conversation with the peoples of most Pacific islands and with Asians as well.

The fact that it is now spoken over the radio is evidence of its great importance as a means of communication between whites and other races. Yet this is not the first time that it has been given official attention. For during the last war, when there were large numbers of Allied soldiers in the Pacific theatre, the American Council of Learned Societies commissioned an authority on the "language," Professor Robert A. Hall, to write a guide on pidgin English for helping the fighting men. Before that he had written a standard grammar and dictionary of Melanesian pidgin, which has been the language of the South Pacific ever since the era of the first white traders, who appeared in growing numbers towards the end of the eighteenth century.

Curiously enough, and no doubt to their chagrin, the Germans, who formerly owned a considerable area of New Guinea, were partly responsible for the spread of pidgin English. They tried unsuccessfully to teach their own language to the natives. In the end the Germans abandoned

their efforts and taught pidgin English instead. Native dialects have no "x" sound, and "kis" is substituted, so axe becomes "akis." Bath becomes "wash, wash," exchange is rendered "change im," and frog is "croak, croak."

The same thing happened in the Solomons, formerly German, where the Lord's Prayer in pidgin English starts off: "Papa me belong topside. Speak good along him." Here, too, is a much better description of a cross-cut saw than the original English: "Akis belong claws. You push he go. You pull him he come. Bimeby him kai niwai." Here "kai kai" means to eat and "niwai" is wood.

Pidgin English is, above everything else, outstanding for its vividness. A West African report states, as an instance, that a local farmer will apply for a gun licence because "dem bush-meat chop my farm too much." Translated into "official English" the sentence runs: "The depredations of the larger wild animals are making my farm almost entirely unremunerative." No doubt the latter would make more appeal to the local Whitehall, but the African gets the gist of the matter in far fewer words.

There are three important groups of pidgin English, the West African, Chinese, and Melanesian in the South Pacific. The word "pidgin" is the Chinese corruption of "business," and the form of words used follows Chinese idiomatic usage

Experts on pidgin English say that, although looking simple enough, it cannot be made up off hand. There are several rules which must be followed. There are about a thousand pidgin English words in addition to those which individual users may pick up.

Since the jargon has no tenses it is sometimes difficult to interpret a speaker unless he adds a word such as "bimeby" for soon or finish, which relegates an action to the past. No plurals operate so that "we" becomes "me two fellow." A speaker stumped for a pidgin word to describe a thing substitutes "something."

Unfortunately progress will out, and a new and simplified system of teaching English adopted by the army in West Africa will, it is expected, eventually eliminate pidgin English in the four British West African territories.

If pidgin does die out, there will pass a custom which has been very useful, and given much fun and pleasure to travellers and mariners from the time of Captain Cook onwards. Still, old customs die hard, and pidgin may linger long yet.

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## PUBLIC LIBRARIES IN INDIA

By Frank M. Gardner

(Unesco Consultant, Delhi Public Library, 1951-52.)

THE station wagon moved slowly and precariously along the narrow village street, lurching over the more rutted sections of the unpaved road, and almost brushing the windowless houses and open-fronted shops on either side. We came to a stop at a small open space right at the far end of the village, where the ground sloped down to the river. Before us was the Panchayat House. Behind, was a small temple beside a sacred pool in which large shadowy fish swam in contented immunity. On a sheer rock on the far side of the river the ruins of a massive fort frowned down. India is littered with such ruins. The forts decay, but the villages survive.

The village Panchayat was waiting to greet us, garlands in hand, and ceremonially attired. We were escorted into the Panchayat House, garlanded, and offered refreshment of milky tea, nuts and sticky cakes. We then mounted a narrow stair to the first floor. A small room about twelve feet square, with a balcony. Matting on the floor, but no other furniture but a small desk, and against one wall, a large almirah. This was the village library which we had come to see.

I had been invited as Unesco Consultant on Libraries to visit the State of Madhya Bharat, in Central India, and report on the state of public library service,



Lending Department, Delhi Public Library

and suggest possible improvement and integration into a single State service. Madhya Bharat has a population of nearly nine million people, and an area of about 40,000 square miles. There are three large towns, Gwalior, Indore, and Ujiain, several smaller ones, and innumerable villages. Like all the Indian states, it has many problems, Roads, medical services, public health services, education, all need improvement urgently, and that Madhya Bharat should be thinking of library services at all showed courage. Already a start had been made with rural libraries. 250 sets of 300 books had been purchased, and issued to the larger villages, and arrangements made for their splitting down into smaller sets for loan to the smaller villages. It was one of these libraries we had come to see, at Bhitarwar, north of Gwalior. Bhitarwar is not perhaps a typical Indian village. It is in an irrigated area, growing sugar cane, has a good school and dispensary, and wears a generally prosperous Its little library was being well used. Out of a population of 1,600, nearly 200 people were members, though not all had books out all the time. Some newspapers and periodicals were to be added to the collection, and plans were laid for the acquisition of more books to supplement the collection from headquarters. The room was spotlessly clean, the young man who acted as librarian was obviously interested in the work, and the books themselves had been chosen with taste and discretion. I made some enquiries about other books and reading material in the village. One or two of the wealthier residents had a few books, the schoolmaster had several. Two residents subscribed to newspapers. So here, probably were more books than in all the rest of the village put together, and that the Panchayat thought highly of the library was evident.

One felt daunted as one thought of the problems of the future, perhaps. Bhitarwar is the centre of a Kendra Panchayat, or rural council, of about 100 square miles, containing over 70 villages and a population of over 30,000. This was the only collection of books for all of them. Would the movement thus started spread, or would it splutter to a standstill, until the bright ideas were forgotten, and the collection of books became a tattered pile of rubbish?

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Such thoughts were inspired by previous inspection of public libraries in the towns. I saw in India many libraries, good in conception, inspired by high ideals, that had become almost derelict through lack of support, or were eking out a precarious existence by subscription and donation. It is not entirely a financial problem. Judging any library by the rough but revealing criterion of annual cost per member, it is invariably found that the cost was higher than similar cost in England for a much poorer service. The fault is that generally ideals have not caught up with modern practice, and the conception of the public library still exists as a place for the preservation of books, for a limited public, with the librarian as a custodian rather than an interpreter. The public library can only play its full part as an instrument of culture and education if it is organised on the basis of support from taxation, free and unrestricted membership, and access to the shelves. Without these, all the good intentions are frustrated and eventually defeated.

It was to bring the conception of the modern public library to India, and to provide a focus for growing interest, that the Delhi Public Library was founded in 1951 as a demonstration project under the joint auspices of Unesco and the Indian Government. The first director on behalf of Unesco was Edward Sydney, well known for his work in furthering the wider purposes of libraries, and he did the foundation work on the project. I saw the library from its opening to its firm and flourishing condition in the middle of 1952. In the short time of eighteen months, a complete modern library service has been established, with adult lending library, reading room, children's library, and extension department for lectures, discussions, equipped with audio-visual aids. A mobile library for outlying districts is now being built, and branch libraries are being developed.

It has been a remarkable achievement, only made possible by the goodwill of the Indian Government and the enthusiasm of Unesco. Even more remarkable has been the response of the public. In the first eight months that the library has been open, it has registered over 10,000 members, and loans of books to adults have reached over 800 daily. In the children's library, despite great difficulties in finding sufficient books in Hindi, in a binding suitable for lending, over 200 books a day are loaned, overwhelming both the staff and the small stock. In the extension department eight self-governing discussion groups sprang up, covering theatre, debating, shortstory writing, and a group for old people. Lectures sponsored by the library were packed to the doors, and documentary film-shows had to be run in triplicate to accommodate the crowds. Seldom can a new institution have met with a more enthusiastic response.

Most of the stock of the library is in Hindi, with a proportion in English and Urdu, and the demand is about 60 per cent. for Hindi. The proportion of recreative reading is high, but there is a much greater demand than in Western countries for books on philosophy, religion, politics, economics, and sociology. The English book-

stock makes up for the lack of Hindi material in technical subjects, but here again economics and sociology are in great demand. The Indian citizen is keenly interested in the future of his own and other countries and is generally, I think, a more serious reader than his western counterpart. One sees that from the newspapers, which,



Children's Department, Delhi Public Library

however politically biased, devote a great deal of their space to foreign affairs and political and general news and comment. One does not see in the Indian press continued passionate interest in murder trials or columns of space devoted to the colour of ex-King Farouk's pyjamas.

Already the service is doing more than provide a library service for the citizens of Delhi. Enquiries are coming in from other parts of India regarding training facilities in the techniques of open-access librarianship. A further stage envisaged by Unesco is the use of the Delhi Library for training by other countries in South-East Asia. Thus by demonstration and training facilities, the Delhi (continued on next page)

#### Unesco Helps to Overcome Currency Problems

By the end of 1951 nearly 200,000 dollars' worth of Unesco Book Coupons had been bought in India for the purchase of books from abroad. Librarians, university authorities and even individuals may obtain the coupons from the Indian Ministry of Education, Delhi, and use them as payment of their orders from booksellers all over the world.

Unesco coupons are a practical way of overcoming the currency barriers which often prevent the purchase of needed educational books, scientific equipment and films. The coupons are redeemed by Unesco in the currency of the supplier.

Unesco is also helping Indian librarians through the Gift Coupon Scheme which enables donors in Australia, Canada, France, Germany, Holland, the United Kingdom and the United States to buy coupons and send them to certain Indian libraries in particular need of assistance.

Library may have an influence far beyond its immediate area of service. But even judging by the work being done now, the evidence of a desire for extensive library service is overwhelming. Literacy figures can be deceptive, and it would seem where literacy is not universal, those who have it both prize it and use it.

Apart from its immediate popular success, how far is such a project worthwhile? How does it compare in value with the satisfaction of the many other pressing needs in health and agriculture? The most obvious answer is that all progress centres round a literate, socially conscious community, and new ideas cannot be accepted unless understood. The literacy drive in India cannot succeed unless there is material for the newly formed teeth to bite on, so the social education movement and the public library movement must develop side by side. Already in Delhi the public library is providing books for the literacy classes of the Social Education Department, and this branch of its work is regarded as of the highest importance. In the higher ranges of use, technical and educational needs will also be satisfied only by access

to books, and books that are properly displayed and easily available. While no sensible person wishes to see Indian civilisation trodden under the heels of Western materialism, it is true that in meeting the challenge of the twentieth century, prejudice and superstition must be combated. The book is the best agent for that, and its gift of the habit of reflection is the best antidote to the dangers of the mass media of radio and cinema.

But the people themselves are the best judges. The children descending happily on the books in bright new covers, the small boy reading aloud to his smaller sister; the bearded Sikh gravely studying a book on motor engineering; the daily pile of requests for particular books from all kinds of readers—these are the heart-warming sights to be seen every day in Delhi Public Library.

In showing how a library should open its doors and its shelves to all, Unesco has started a whole series of new ideas. This experiment, small as it is, may have more lasting and widespread effects than many others started with greater hopes and larger resources.

## HIGH ALTITUDE COSMIC RAY



Seen against a wall of snow, the expedition's tent pitched on the shore of Lake Ailapator in Kashmir. One of the two generators is seen outside the tent

WAY up in the high mountains of Kashmir—at times in the region of eternal snows—a group of Indian research workers is trying to unravel the mysteries of a natural phenomenon that has baffled scientists to this day. Led by the world-famous physicist Dr. P. S. Gill, they are carrying out intricate experiments in an effort to trace the exact origin of cosmic rays, comprising high energy subatomic particles that keep falling on earth constantly from interstellar space.

# RESEARCH in the HIMALAYAS

By Alfred J. Edwin (Delhi)

More, the scientists are confident that once the origin of cosmic rays is established, it will lead to more knowledge about other parts of the universe.

The project that led to the establishment of a highaltitude cosmic ray research laboratory in Kashmir has been organised by Aligarh University (U.P.). Aligarh became a centre of cosmic ray research in 1949 following the appointment of Dr. P. S. Gill as Professor of Physics. A scientist of world repute, Dr. Gill had spent a number of

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years in India and in the U.S.A. experimenting on various aspects of cosmic rays. This branch of physics requires specialised equipment and during the last two years attempts have been made to construct most of such equipment at Aligarh.

Though cosmic ray research had been in progress in various parts of India, and under such eminent scientists as Professors Homi J. Bhabha, FRS, M. N. Saha, FRS, D. M. Bose and R. C. Majumdar, the possibility of high altitude experiments had not been fully explored. Data obtained during high altitude flights were, not surprisingly, sketchy and not very reliable.

Having decided to organise high altitude cosmic ray research, Dr. Gill looked to the Kashmir Himalayas as the possible site. (Way back in 1926 the noted American scientist and Nobel Laureate A. H. Compton had undertaken studies of cosmic rays on the snow-clad peaks of Kashmir, and as a research worker in the U.S.A. Gill had studied under Compton.)

Prof. Gill's expedition, financed by Aligarh University and aided locally by the Jammu and Kashmir Government, reached Kashmir in the middle of last May. Besides him the team included Messrs, Rais Ahmad, M.A., Basir Khan, Taussiful Hasan Naqvi, Mohd. Yassin, H. K. Kaushik and Suraj Prakash, most of whom had already worked at Aligarh and helped in the collection of valuable data. Dr. L. F. Curtiss of the National Bureau of Standards, Washington, came out to India on a Fulbright award to work in collaboration with Dr. Gill's team. Dr. Curtiss brought with him some equipment for the measurement of cosmic ray neutrons. Before reaching Kashmir, data similar to those obtained later in Kashmir but collected at a much lower altitude were carefully computed at Aligarh and, en route, at Jullunder (Punjab I). In scientific parlance, the main aim of the expedition was to study the "latitude effect" and the "altitude effect."

During the stay of the expedition in Kashmir, heights of up to 14,000 feet were reached. At times progress was extremely slow, especially the transport of very heavy equipment, but the rigours of the journey were amply compensated by the idyllic yet majestic panorama of the Kashmir Valley. Having reached Srinagar, the Kashmir capital, by way of Banihal, the expedition moved on to its destination through mountainous country famous for its unsurpassed beauty.

The first halt was at Tangmarg (7,000 ft.), marking the end of the motor journey. Readings with the help of complicated equipment were recorded at Srinagar as well as Tangmarg. Ponies were hired to cover the journey beyond across pine-covered slopes and some 80 porters employed for the transport of equipment which included two gene-

rators and several tons of lead used in cosmic ray absorption experiments.

The next stop was at Gulmarg (9,000 ft.), where the expedition spent nine days for their experiments. Talking to a member of the expedition, I got the impression that many a time the scientists preferred to meditate on the beauties of Nature than on the complexities of their elusive pursuit. Gulmarg, meaning Meadow of Roses, is one of the loveliest of Kashmir's valleys, and apart from its scenic attractions is noted for its famous golf links.

Khellan Marg (Meadow of Blooms) was reached in June. Two thousand feet higher than Gulmarg, this meadow is the site of the Ski Club of India Hut which was used by the expedition as its "observatory." Khellan Marg commands some of the most gorgeous views, including one of the eternal snows dominated by 26,000-foot high Nanga Parbat

The expedition moved on to 14,000-foot high Apharwat but could not set up its equipment there. An absolute peak, Apharwat is exposed to high velocity winds making it impossible for tents to be pitched. An alternative site on the shore of Ailapator Lake was found. Believed to be the mythical home of the snake-god of the Hindu Pantheon, the Ailapator is characterised by its turquoise-blue waters and floating snow-bergs.

Steeped in local superstition, the lake is the source of many a strange story. The hill folk believe that anybody spending the night by the lake will succumb to the wrath of the gods. In fact, the expedition spent several days and nights there continuing their mysterious experiments!

The data obtained at Ailapator Lake marked the end of the first phase of the cosmic ray expedition. The second phase comprised the recording of observations on another route passing through sites situated at about the same altitudes and latitudes as covered in the first stage. This series of experiments began at Pahalgam (7,200 ft., 60 miles from Srinagar) and were conducted, stage by stage, up to heights of nearly 14,000 feet.

The expedition returned to Aligarh at the end of July and thereafter Drs. Gill and Curtiss extended their experiments down to the Equator, taking readings along the same longitude at Nagpur and Madras. The chief aim once again was to record the altitude and latitude effects in the study of cosmic rays.

A permanent observatory has been established at Gulmarg in Kashmir and next summer the scientists will return there to continue their experiments. The observatory—the first of its kind in Asia—has already attracted the attention of physicists in a number of countries, especially Japan and the U.S.A., and the organisers expect that in years to come it will become a foremost centre of scientific research.

# CAMBODIA AT THE CROSS ROADS

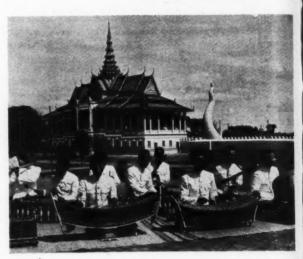
By J. W. Goodwin

EIR to ancient glories, the young king of Cambodia has added to his many offices of State by becoming his own Prime Minister. "Allow me the time to try this, the last chance for the country," he appealed to his 3,750,000 silk-weaving and rice-growing people when he dismissed the Government and named a new Cabinet of two princes, one princess, and other palace friends.

Lord of the Six Umbrellas and the White Elephants, 30-year-old King Norodom Sihanouk is theoretically an



Cambodian Court Dancers (Shell photograph)



The Royal Dance Orchestra accompanies dancers in the grounds of the Royal Palace. In the background is the Pavilion of the dancers (Shell photograph)

independent sovereign within the French Union as king of one of the three Associated States of Indo-China. Within his pagoda-like palace with its upswept eaves and glowing porcelain spires, there are displayed for the inquisitive visitor jewel-studded golden crowns for almost every conceivable royal occasion and with varying numbers of tiers according to whether the king is riding an elephant or a horse or being carried in a patánquin. Yet he is an unassuming man who talks unaffectedly to visitors and seems too modest to exercise the royal prerogative of terminating the interview.

The contrast between the traditional autocracy and the uneasy novelty of constitutionalism is perhaps best illustrated when the King motors about his capital of Phnom-Penh with its broad boulevards and shady avenues and enticing vistas of public buildings which might have been planned for any French provincial centre. Then he wears a black bowler hat, but it is made regal with a diamond cockade.

Like every one of his humble male subjects, King Norodom when a youth took the saffron robe of a Buddhist monk and had his hair and eyebrows shaved in the way that gives the plump-cheeked Cambodian youths a disconcerting air of startled innocence. Like every good Buddhist he had such a regard for life in all its forms and such opposition to violence that he was a vegetarian. Now he is "Supreme Head of the Armed Forces of the Kingdom," an honorary reserve captain of cavalry and a brigadier-general of the French Army, and sometimes performs public ceremonies in the uniform of a French admiral. During his monastic days his only earthly possessions were the two pieces of his robes, his rosary, and the wooden begging bowl. Now he is the ultimate owner

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of all land, the heir of all who die intestate, and in the words of the constitution "holding all powers and exercising directly most of them."

Trained as a Buddhist, and the spiritual head of the kingdom, he is nevertheless the central figure in Brahmanical rites unchanged in the 1500 years since Cambodia and the neighbouring kingdom of Siam were Indian cultural outposts of an empire vaster than Rome's.

Not only do all powers emanate from the Keeper of Prah Khan, the sacred golden sword, the thousand-year-old talisman of his Khmer ancestors who ruled over a city kingdom of a million people in the days when England was still a collection of warring petty kingdoms. He also signs or "rectifies" the treaties when the heads of most other States have to be content with ratifying them,

The first independent Cambodian ruler since 1863, he is less of a nationalist than his former Ministers. It is significant that he should call his palace riding ground Fontainebleau, significant that almost the sole game played by his subjects is the one—ubiquitous in South-East Asia—of the deftly-propelled plaited ball, yet beside his palace is a ground with soccer goal posts and boards for American basketball. So "les sports," British and American, conquer the East in the interests of the French.

All this is a manifestation of the paradox of South-East Asia that its new leaders are between two worlds—European colonialism dead and Asian nationalism powerfully to be born—and are not completely at ease in either. This applies equally to the Moscow-trained Communists.

"A modern-minded sovereign and apt to democratic ideas" is the somewhat naive description of King Norodom in a handbook given me by palace officials a few months ago. However, the kingdom's first constitution which he himself promulgated, stipulates that no revision can affect the rights reserved to royalty.

By his palace revolution he has exercised the right to be his own Prime Minister and has included in his Cabinet a princess who, as vice-president of the French Union Council at Versailles, once remarked: "I dislike democracy." Princes and princesses are an established feature of political life in Cambodia. In a Royal Family where there is plurality of wives and a multiplicity of concubines it provides an outlet—sometimes useful, but not always harmless—for the exercise of authority.

In the deposed Government, the Minister of Public Works was a royal prince who had been elected as an ordinary member. Although he was opposed by a rival candidate, it seems rather an unfair contest because I was told that it would have been considered an insult to the Royal Family if he had been defeated.

The last Cabinet also included father and son, one of whom held high qualifications recognised in Europe as an expert on insanity. Appropriately he had been made Minister of Foreign Affairs.



H.M. King Norodom Sihanouk Varman of Cambodia (Shell photograph)

The position in the Cabinet of Princess Ping-Peang Yukanthor indicates another Cambodian anomaly. Women and their rights are not specified in the constitution; they do not vote, and cannot be elected to Parliament, but they can be appointed Ministers. In the new school system they are being given the same opportunity as boys.

"We are interested in the ability, not in the sex of the person," the Minister of Information told me, but it was less of an Asian who spoke than an elegant Parisian. When his nationalist activities had brought him into conflict with the French before the war, they had cunningly exiled him, not to brooding isolation, but to the seductiveness of France. As he spoke about equality for women, I seemed to hear the famous echo from the Chamber of Deputies: "Vive la difference."

In that respect too, the King—informal to visitors, French-speaking, and almost faunlike in his youthful grace—is still very much an Oriental monarch. In person sacred and inviolable and above the law, his many privileges include the right to number an aunt and a half-sister among his concubines.

As the throne is not hereditary and a successor is named from the Royal Family by a religious and political council, the King need never marry. Two or three generations of rulers have married Cambodian commoners, but Norodom remains a bachelor—and his children, recognised as such without scandal by his subjects, include five by his favourite concubine, his own aunt now aged 22.

The King believes that his country should support France fully in fighting the Issarak insurgents and the Communist-led Vietminh nationalists. "I mean to pacify the country and lead the people towards an end to their sufferings," he declared in assuming personal control of the Government. However, all the dismissed Ministers I interviewed believed that the French have a vested interest in

the continuation of internal disorder as it gives them a legal excuse to stay as imperial administrators. They want United States aid, economic as well as military, but resent that it is given to the French.

"The French have made more Communists than Moscow or Peking," one Minister told me—and he was no lover of the Chinese. "We fear that Cambodia may be rubbed off the map," he added—and left the impression that he regarded that as only slightly worse than being temporarily saved by the French.

"Allow me the time to try this, the last chance for the country," appeals the King. As a start he has reduced the civil list and the expenses of the Royal household and has cut Government salaries by one-fifth, hoping thereby to divert more revenue to war on the rebel bands.

However, government is not his sole interest and in August he made his debut as a composer when the U.S. Air Force Symphony Orchestra played his "Miniature Suite" in Washington. A recording was sent to him. Whatever the musical traditionalists say about it in Cambodia, whatever parliamentarians think of his personal rule, he can depend on the unqualified support of his Prime Minister.

## CEYLON'S BABY ELEPHANTS

By S. V. O. Somander (Ceylon)

NE of the loveliest sights in the open plains and pools in the "parkland" regions of Ceylon's forest country is the meeting of a herd of wild elephants of all sizes and ages, an old female being the leader, followed by several mothers with their newly-born calves.

As a general rule, elephants have only one calf at a birth, but there are one or two instances of cow-elephants



A young trained elephant

having twins. These elephant babies are very playful creatures, especially in the pools where they wallow and splash water at their parents and among themselves. But they seldom roam far from their mothers who, in turn, are very devoted to their young, and rarely desert them even for a while, lest any danger might overtake their offspring. Not long ago I heard a true account of a moving scene of mother-love enacted in the course of a successful kraaling (Keddah) operation.

One day, among the wild elephants caught in the stockade, was a one-year-old "Jumbo" baby noosed by the mahouts. The young one was led away into captivity, but its mother, also caught in the stockade, was released into the forest as she was not wanted. But the fond mother had no desire for liberty away from her child. After wandering all over the jungle, she located the place where the captive elephants were tethered and, with occasional trumpetings which displayed her great anguish, she searched for her baby. The beaters, meanwhile, watched her movements carefully. At a little past midnight she found her lost one tethered in another clearing in the jungle. "You should have heard the sudden change in her trumpetings," declares an eye-witness. "Despair turned to joy, anguish giving place to happiness as she rushed up to her baby."

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It seems there were about a dozen men in the clearing, keeping watch on the small number of captives tethered at this spot. With them were six *kumkies* (tame elephants). The watchers had been warned about the cow elephant who was in search of her baby, and were prepared for trouble. For there are stories of indignant mother-elephants growing savage and charging the noosers furiously, sometimes with disastrous results to the men.

But this was the last thing this particular cow had in mind. Instead (in the words of the eye-witnes again), "she rushed up to her baby, and her joyous and triumphant trumpetings were nothing but a vocal demonstration of mother-love. She fondled her child with her trunk, and fed it; but she did not attempt even to untie the rope. We tried to drive her away into the forests, but she would not go. Her place was with her baby, she seemed to feel. It was a sight we shall never forget."

Eventually, in order not to separate the heart-broken mother from the panic stricken child, the men let the calf go with its mother. Mother-love, which transcends all things, had triumphed!

That elephant babies, too, are very much attached to their mothers is a fact which is not difficult to prove. I personally know of an instance which happened not very long ago when an elephant baby, presumably browsing some distance away from its mother, was separated from its jungle haunts by a passing omnibus which drove the little brute in front along the lonesome forest road for a good hundred yards or more. While it was trotting along in this sad plight, not knowing which way to take, another motorbus approached from the opposite direction, and the helpless, panting baby was brought to a halt. Being puzzled, it stood stock still in the middle of the open road. Both the vehicles having stopped, with the flabbergasted baby in between, some of the passengers managed to get a rope and noose the little thing without much difficulty.

The captive, a male calf, measured about two feet and eleven inches in height, being scarcely a month old. It was then despatched to the Chief Headman of the nearest village where, to keep it alive and going, several bottles of buffalo milk had to be pressed into service every day, though the vitim did not seem to relish this new diet as much as it did its own mother's milk.

Subsequently, as is usual under such peculiar circumstances, the Headman, on behalf of the Government, had to auction the baby before a large assembly of rural folks, and the animal was ultimately "knocked down" for sixty rupees (about £5), the purchaser being a surveyor friend of mine, who happened to be working in the forest village at that time.

In its new home, the baby was looked after very kindly by its owners, who fed it not only with liberal draughts of buffalo milk, but with plantains offered as dessert. It often



A captured baby elephant

roamed about the garden with the surveyor's little daughter, sometimes going indoors as far as the dining table in search of some dainty morsel. But, in spite of it all, the baby grew home-sick, or rather mother-sick, becoming emaciated with its skin shrunken, and its juvenile spirit not a little depressed. As the days went by, it grew more and more melancholy, and seemed to long for the freedom of its forest home. It was, however, too late to return the baby to the jungle, especially when the whereabouts of the mother were not known.

A change in the diet, which now consisted of rice-gruel and small balls of soft rice, did not improve matters and in a few days the poor beast died. Despite all the loving devotion, it had died not so much from unsuitable food, as from shock, grief, and a broken heart, due to being bereft of its mother. That was genuine child-love.

It may be mentioned in this connection that the rearing or training of young elephants is really a difficult matter. They are so delicate and sensitive that they do not easily lend themselves to domestication. There are instances in Ceylon of captured wild elephants which, in the course of their training, refused to go, for instance, between the shafts of a coconut cart, preferring death (by suddenly dropping down dead) to submission to man. Such is the sense of self-respect and dignity of these proud forest-children.

But once tactfully tamed, successfully trained, and kindly treated, these young monarchs of the Ceylon wilds can grow up to be of such immense use to man that they invite at once our praise and our admiration.

## ECONOMIC SECTION

## Income Taxes on Anglo-Indian Investments

By Frank Bower

THE first part of the Five Year Plan for the development of India calls for an expenditure of capital of some \$3,000 million, of which 10%, namely \$300 million, is hoped will be found from foreign sources, excluding the use of the sterling balances owing by the British Government. This is new money over and above the considerable sums invested already by British businesses in India. Some money will no doubt be forthcoming from United States sources, particularly if India can offer raw materals for United States manufactures, but for various reasons it is hoped that private capital as distinct from Government funds can be found from United Kingdom sources. Business capital, however, cannot be ventured except on business terms and India is but one of the Commonwealth territorius where development is urgently needed. If India is to attract capital to iteself it must offer terms at least as attractive as other territories can offer.

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There are, of course, other factors than taxation to consider when a British enterprise is planning an overseas venture, but it can do no harm, and possibly may do some good, to review briefly but frankly the fiscal burdens which Anglo-Indian business investment is called upon to face.

#### INDIAN TAXES ON PROFITS

India takes the first toll of the profits of a British enterprise in India and since these are the same taxes for all foreign enterprises in India, it is fitting first to see what taxes are levied before the profits can leave India. The taxes depend on the legal form in which the enterprise is organised. The following is a tabulation of the normal taxes on profits:

1.	An Indian	subsidary	of a	United	Kingdom	"public"	company
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1	(a) on undistributed profits	Percentage
	Income Tax, 4 annas in 1 Rupee plus 5%.	profit 26.25
	Super Tax, 24 annas in 1 Rupee	
		43.44
	Super Tax on shareholder. 31 annas on re maining profit 56.56 grossed at 4.2 anna	
	Total Indian tax	61.41
	Net dividend leaving India	38.59
		100.00
	(b) on undistributed profits	
	Income Tax 4 annas plus 5%	26.25
	Super Tax 24 annas	17.19
		43.44
	Rebate for non-distribution 1 a. on 100-43.7	75 3.52
	Total Indian Taxes	39.92

Note 1. The supertax levied on the foreign public company 3\frac{1}{4} as. represents 2\frac{1}{4} as. supertax which would be levied if the dividend had been paid to an Indian company plus a special 1 a. tax because there will be no further supertax levied as there might be if an Indian company receiving the dividend in turn declared a dividend to its shareholders.

Note 2. The rebate of 1 a. to encourage retention of profits is not a straight reduction of the company rate but is only given on the net profit, after tax at 7 a., which is withheld from distribution.

#### 2. An Indian subsidary of a United Kingdom "private" company

(a) on distributed profits Income Tax 4 as. plus 5%		26.25
Super Tax 24 as	***	17.19
Total levied on the subsidiary Super Tax on the shareholder—42 as, on	 tha	43.44
remaining profit 56.56 grossed at 4.2		22.77
Net dividend leaving India	***	66.21 33.79

(b) on undistributed Same as for the		of a	public	com-	
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pany above	410		* * *		39.92

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The rate of tax on undistributed profits of subsidiaries of "private" companies, however, is largely academic because if such companies do not in any year distribute at least 60% of their income tax profit less income tax and super tax they incur the penalty for avoidance of supertax and the whole of that profit is deemed to have been distributed to the shareholders and taxed to shareholders super tax.

The words "public" and "private" have been put in inverted commas above in order to draw attention to the highly artificial definition of such companies. For the purpose of fixing the rate of tax a "public" company is a company (1) which is not a private company under the Indian Companies Act, and (2) which is not controlled by less than six persons, and (3) the shares of which are offered for sale on a recognised Stock Exchange. A company all of the shares of which are owned by a public company is classed as a public company. All other companies are "private" companies.

The definitions for the purpose of the super tax avoidance povisions are equally anomalous. For instance, if all the shares of an Indian company belong indirectly to a foreign public company through other subsidiary companies the Indian company is classed as "private." Again, if a foreign public company owned the majority of the shares in an Indian company and the rest were owned by the public, the Indian company would be classed as "private."

The penalties of being a "private" company are the extra 1 a. super tax and the compulsion to distribute more than 60% of the profits after taxes.

The description of this group is not strictly accurate. It should rather be the rates of tax applicable in cases other than public companies or subsidiaries of public companies.

#### 3. A United Kingdom company operating directly in India

There is no distinction between distributed and undistributed profits so far as the rate of tax is concerned. The same discrimination against "private" companies is observed as in the case of United Kingdom parent companies of Indian subsidiaries:

(a) a "Public" Sterling company			
Income Tax 4 as. plus 5%			26.25
Super Tax 34 as			23.44
Total Indian taxes			49.69
Remaining profit remittable			50.31
			100.00
(b) a "Private" Sterling company			
Income Tax 4 as. plus 5%			26.25
Super Tax 41 as	***	***	29.69
Total Indian taxes			55.94
Remaining remittable profits	***		44.06
			100.00

The Indian taxes levied on profits of direct operations in India are therefore smaller than the taxes levied on dividends paid by Indian subsidiary companies, i.e. "Public" 49.69% against 61.41%, and "Private" 55.94% against 66.21%. There is, however, one special danger to which they are subject which does not normally arise with an Indian subsidiary. If in any year the profits from India are more than the profits arising outside India, the United Kingdom company is deemed to be resident in India and its non-Indian income is charged to Indian Income Tax and Super Tax.



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4. There is a fourth form of Anglo-Indian investment, namely, the holding by a United Kingdom resident individual of a parcel of shares in an Indian company. The rates of tax on his Indian income are fixed at those which would be applicable to his total world income.

India has since 1949 given tax relief to new enterprises and this relief has been given to United Kingdom investors in common with others. The relief is given to new industrial undertakings which employ more than fifty employees and which use electrical or mechanical energy. The relief is to exempt from Income Tax and Super Tax the profits which do not exceed six per cent. of the capital employed in the business. The exemption is extended to dividends paid out of such exempt profits.

#### UNITED KINGDOM TAXES

Having settled the Indian taxes the next problem facing the United Kingdom investor is the tax bill payable in the United Kingdom. The first impression is of extreme complexity.

If the recipient is a company the net sum of dividends declared or profits earned after payment of Indian taxes is in principle chargeable to Income Tax 47.5%, to Profits Tax 2.5%, and possibly Excess Profits Levy 30%. Further, if the company declares dividends an additional distribution charge of 20% of those dividends is payable. If the recipient is an individual Surtax takes the place of Profits Tax and Excess Profits Levy.

If relief is claimed in respect of Indian taxes relief is given against the United Kingdom taxes up to the higher of the Indian taxes or three-quarters of the sum of the United Kingdom taxes, but in calculating the tax the relief is added to the net Indian income receivable.

Leaving out of account a possible liability to Excess Profits Levy which is incalculable and, it is hoped, temporary, and deeming the profits to be distributed by the United Kingdom company, the following shows the combined burden of Indian and United Kingdom taxes for each of the four types of formation in India. Profits of Indian subsidiaries which are not distributed, of course, escape United Kingdom taxes until they are distributed.

are distributed.			Private Indian	Public Ster- ling	
Profits before tax		100	100	100	100
Indian taxes		61.4	66.2	49.7	55.9
United Kingdom tax a	fter				
foreign tax credit		11.8	10.3	15.5	13.1
Net dividend or profit		26.8	23.5	34.8	31

If the business was granted relief in India as a new enter prise the British Treasury take a large part of that benefit by reducing the relief for Indian taxes.

If the business were a sterling company and had to pay Indian tax on its non-Indian income because it was deemed to be resident in India, no relief would be given in the United Kingdom for that Indian tax. There are cases, exceptional it is true, where the combined taxes exceed the profits.

#### WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

The above brief survey has not mentioned complications which arise through the separation of india and Pakistan, nor difficulties touching agricultural income. It is clear that the net profit remaining after taxes is too small to attract United Kingdom capital to India, except where profits can be ploughed back in an Indian subsidiary with a view to an ultimate sale at a capital profit. Both the United Kingdom and India have a common interest in reducing the joint burden of tax so as to let private investment proceed.

Discussions are taking place intermittently and with great difficulty for a treaty for the avoidance of double taxation between the United Kingdom and India. If a treaty is eventually made on the standard lines it will scarcely go far enough because the negotiators are zealous not to surrender any revenue. Much more is needed to attract capital to India, The following suggestions are made as an expression of personal views on the methods which are likely to be most beneficial to India.

First, India should regard all United Kingdom companies—indeed all foreign companies which are really foreign owned—as being "public" companies for the purpose of fixing the rates of tax, and cease to compel distribution of profits to foreigners under Section 23A.

Second, India should give a rebate from the super tax levied on dividends paid to foreign shareholders in respect of the super tax which has been charged on the company. That is to say, if the rate of 3\frac{1}{4} as, is maintained for foreign shareholders a rebate of 2\frac{1}{4} as, should be given because that rate of super tax has already been paid by the company on those profits.

The third contribution should come from the United King-The above two reliefs would restrict the levy made by India to 48.2% in the case of an Indian subsidiary, and to 49.7% in the case of a sterling company. These rates are lower than the United Kingdom rate on companies which is 63.8%, including distributed profits tax. If nothing more were done than to give full relief from double taxation by virtue of a treaty with India, the United Kingdom would levy a further charge of 15.6% or of 14.1% respectively so as to bring the Indian rate up to the United Kingdom rate. Where relief had been given in India for a new enterprise the United Kingdom charge would be much heavier. It is sugested that the United Kingdom should refrain from levying this further charge on dividends and profits from Indian sources. This slight sacrifice of revenue would do far more good than direct aid from Government to Government because it would open the way for private capital to fructify the Indian economy as the Five Year Plan requires for its success.

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#### **ECONOMIC PUBLICATIONS**

Planning of Post War Economic Development in India by N. V. SOVANI (The Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, in co-operation with the Institute of Pacific Relations.)

This work sets out to give us a picture of planning in India in a purely factual manner. It does this, but in all honesty cannot escape from some very strong, though well-reasoned, criticism of the chaotic clashes of ideas that have sprung from too much planning without over much counting of the cost and the inevitable tendency to allow interested viewpoints to take precedence over national welfare.

Recent steps taken by the Government of India indicate that the "influence of capitalist elements was

constantly on the increase and there was a steady movement away from real planning and control." The trend of official taxation policy has been "to reduce direct taxes and if necessary increase indirect ones, thus relieving the burden on the rich and increasing it on the poorer sections." The provisions for compensation for property taken over by the state "go even further than similar provisions in the U.S. Constitution." "Government has completely failed in controlling prices . . . is helpless against trading and industrial elements when they hold the whole community to ransom."

The summing-up of Mr Sovani's studies is contained in a very forthright foreword by Mr. D. R. Gadgil who says bluntly what the whole book implies. "That (economic) policy may be said to be in a state of com-

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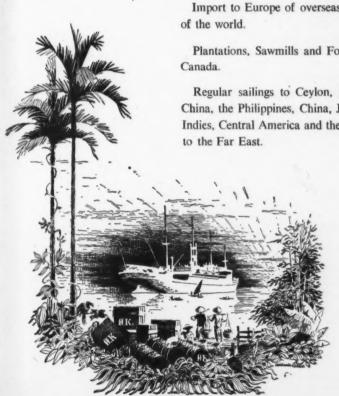
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plete disorder as a result of the number of conflicting views that seek to dominate. . . . We entered the realms of fantasy when self-sufficiency in both jute and cotton were added to the self-sufficiency in food without affecting either the target date or import quotas. Comic relief was provided by the spectacle of a minister asking for higher prices for raw cotton so that land may be diverted even from food to cotton for enabling the country to export cloth so as to earn foreign currency which would enable the country to buy food and solemnly stating that this would have no repercussions on the price level. The pronouncements of oracles and the antics of ministers might have been merely diverting if their concrete results had not threatened to be tragic. The arbitrary cut in import quotas was persisted in long after it had become apparent to the informed that the country was running the risk, as a result, of a serious food shortage."

The line of reasoning followed by some of the oracles of Delhi reminds one of the Continental woman in a novel by Evelyn Waugh who wants to get her husband out of a mess in some mysterious African state. "I divorce my husband," she tells a British journalist. "Then I marry you and I become British. Then I divorce you and marry my husband again. He, too, becomes British and we all get British passports."

Oh, for the pen of a Gilbert to do justice to the theme!

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CEYLON				16,411,000	3,309,000
BURMA				923,000	1,542,000
SIAM				582,000	8,942,000
MALAYA		***		48,247,000	8,973,000
INDONESIA				14,970,000	36,991,000
FRENCH IN	NDO-CHI	NA			1,494,000
PHILIPPINE	S			12,875,000	2,555,000
CHINA				1,074,000	892,000
<b>FORMOSA</b>	***			34,000	
HONGKON	G		***	1,308,000	6,484,000
JAPAN				65,831,000	12,327,000

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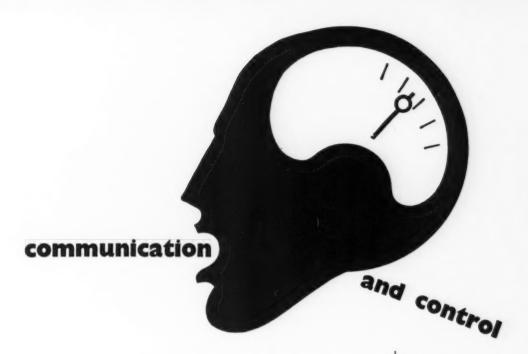
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#### ZINC

THE element zinc occurs in "zinc blende"—a natural form of zinc sulphide—and in certain ores of lead and silver. A hard bluish-white metal, zinc was originally produced only in China and Sumatra, and substantial quantities were once mined in Britain, but most of the world's supply now comes from the Americas and Australasia. Centuries before zinc was discovered in the metallic form, the Ancient Greeks were smelting its ores with copper to make brass, an alloy that has become indispensable to modern

industry. Apart from its use in

alloys zinc is chiefly important today for coating or "galvanising" iron sheet and wire to give protection against rust. Zinc is also used as a roofing material and in the manufacture of casings for dry batteries, fittings for motor cars and plates for printing. Compounds of the element are well known in such diverse fields as medicine, dyeing and paint manufacture.

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